Socialism Breaks the Cordon Sanitaire *by Alter Brody*

FIFTEEN CENTS

August 13, 1940

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Tennessee Trek . . . . . *James Dugan*

Defending America: II . . . . . *A Symposium*

Lewis Gannett, Shaemas O'Sheel, Wm. Z. Foster,

Rev. Alson J. Smith

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Between Ourselves

WINTER suddenly set in last Friday evening in the vicinity of the Lido Pool where NM's gigantic Swingswim was to have been held. At sundown, the temperature fell rapidly, a gale whirled out of the northern sky, and NM decided to postpone the Swingswim until August 9. Our private meteorologist has been scanning the skies, reading the weather map, chinning himself on isobars and mumbling all sorts of things about "highs" and "lows." He assures us that this Friday evening the weather will be seasonably warm, the water in Lido Pool will be refreshingly cool, the music will be excellent, and the entertainment superfine. In other words, the Swingswim will take place on Friday unless it rains—and we shall all be there to meet you.

And now to business—a few weeks ago NM published a story entitled "Youth Says No to the Draft!" Among other young people who expressed themselves on the subject of conscription, war, and peace was a girl called Sylvia. We met Sylvia the other afternoon and discovered that she was a subscriber to NM, which gives her the right to say something in this space. "I wanted to tell NM's readers that Joe and I—Joe's my husband, you know—went away to a camp for ten days. We got sunshine and pep and we came back to the city ready to continue our peace work. We had organized a neighborhood peace committee in June, but by the time we returned from our vacation and our other members from theirs, the committee consisted of ourselves and two other young couples. But not for long! Joe and Harold and Evelyn got busy, ran off a leaflet in Harold's office, helped us distribute it up in the west Bronx where we live. Then we raised $2.70 between us and found that we could rent a horse and buggy for $2.50. And last Tuesday evening after work we had fun driving around with a big sign on the back of the buggy advertising our peace committee. Wednesday evening we rounded up all the cars in the neighborhood, phoned our relatives and insisted that they bring their friends. We paraded all over the Bronx in a motorcade, with signs attached to all the cars asking people to write Congress letters against conscription. Thursday evening we rested and on Friday evening we held a street meeting at the busy corner. Harold was chairman and wasn't a bit nervous, and when we saw how the crowd was against the draft, I insisted on getting up on the platform and telling the world how a young wife feels about her husband—and especially how she feels about sending him off to fight other people's wars. Then on Saturday we distributed more leaflets, and on Sunday we rang doorbells, woke our neighbors up and led them to Randall's Island. Did we have fun? I'll say so!" Sylvia stopped to get her breath while we marveled. We certainly hope that NM has many more readers like her and Joe and the rest of her friends.

Carl Bristel as NM's business manager has been gathering wrinkles and gray hair trying to figure out how to make both ends meet. For NM is being published in a war profits world and paper prices are soaring. If NM was the kind of magazine which depended upon advertising for its life blood, we'd tip our advertising rates and you'd never know anything about the high cost of magazine living. But NM is supported only by NM's readers, and Carl has evolved a nearly painless method of adding necessary income. On September 16, as our back cover will tell you, subscription rates will rise from $2.50 to $2.75 for six months and from the present $4.50 to $5 for twelve months. You have about five weeks in which to resubscribe at the old rates. The pain in the increase will be dulled by a book offer in conjunction with subscriptions, details of which you will also find on the back cover.

And speaking of a war profits world, one of NM's staff members who became a first-time papa recently, has discovered that rising at dawn to change baby's diapers has its merits. On a table next to the bathinet he has placed a stack of manuscripts dealing with monetary problems, foreign relations, and other light subjects, and he reads until baby goes off to sleep. "I'm really beginning to catch up with my work," he announced the other day. Other members of the staff are pondering the advisability of becoming parents in order to catch up with theirs.

Zero hour postscript: NM has just received a cable from D. N. Pritt, the noted British Labor member of Parliament, recently expelled from the Labor Party. Mr. Pritt will be remembered for his two recent Penguin volumes: *Light on Moscow* and *Must the War Spread?* He sends NM an account of trends within the Labor Party. NM will publish Mr. Pritt's article in an early issue. It is must reading alongside R. Palme Dutt's current series.

Congratulations to NM contributor Norman Rosten whose *The Power and the Glory* has been selected as the 1940 volume in the Yales Series of Younger Poets. Mr. Rosten's book will be published by the Yale University Press some time next month.

R. Palme Dutt

R. Palme Dutt is among the foremost Marxists in the capitalist world. Editor of the British "Labour Monthly" since its inception in 1923 and author of "Fascism and Social Revolution," Dutt is best remembered for his "World Politics: 1918-1936"—a basic analysis of the post-war era. Dutt was educated at Cambridge, has been identified with the British Communist Party for twenty years, and is today recognized as one of its leading figures.

Who's Who

ALTER BRODY, the author of several books, has frequently written for NM on European affairs. . . . Leonard Boudin, a New York lawyer, has contributed frequently to NM. . . . Herbert Aptheker is author of *The Negro in the Civil War, Negro Slave Revolts in the United States,* and *The Negro in the American Revolution.* . . . Henry Hart is the author of a novel, *The Great One.* . . . Lou Cooper is a young New York composer and pianist.

Flashbacks

BRITISH labor, on Aug. 9, 1920, by threat of strike prevented the participation of Great Britain in a war against the Soviet Union, the land where the proletariat already had been victorious. Said a British labor spokesman, as quoted by the New York *Times,* "I would rather act in an unconstitutional manner than go to war and go to hell under the British constitution." . . . On Aug. 15, 1936, upwards of a thousand defenders of the Spanish republic were executed by Franco's forces in the bullring at Badajoz. . . . Memo to "liberals" who lump Communism with fascism as an anti-democratic "ism": On Aug. 9, 1932, when Hitler's Nazis were reported arming for a march on Berlin, fifteen hundred police raided, not the Nazis, but a Communist meeting in Hamburg.

This Week

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Two weeks' notice is required for change of address. Notification sent to NEW MASSES rather than to the post office will give the best results.

Published weekly by WEEKLY MASSES CO., INC., at 461 Fourth Ave., New York City. (West Coast Bureau, 6715 Hollywood Boulevard. Room 287, Hollywood, Calif.)
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Entered as second-class matter, June 24, 1926, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879. Single copies 15 cents. Subscriptions $4.50 a year in U. S. and Colonies and Mexico. Six months $2.50; three months $1.25; Foreign $5.50 a year; six months $3; three months $1.50. In Canada, $5 a year, $2.75 for six months. Subscribers are notified that no change in address can be effected in less than two weeks. NEW MASSES welcomes the work of new writers and artists. Manuscripts and drawings must be accompanied by stamped, addressed envelopes. NEW MASSES does not pay for contributions.

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NEW MASSES

VOLUME XXXVI AUGUST 13, 1940 NUMBER 8

Defeat the Draft!

The people have won the first skirmish against conscription. But the battle has only begun. There must be no compromise with the brass hats. An editorial article.

THEY thought it was in the bag. They thought that in no time 42,000,000 Americans would be goose-stepping to the command of the brass hats. Peacetime conscription—that death's head of a desperate, war-bent capitalism—on a scale equaled only in the totalitarian countries, was to be forced on the American people; and they would have to swallow it.

The American people refused to swallow it. They spoke up, they acted. Even the tory press was compelled to admit that members of Congress have been deluged with letters, twenty to one against conscription. The CIO declared its opposition, as did many individual unions, both AFL and CIO. The Farmers Union, the American Youth Congress, the National Catholic Welfare Conference, the Women's Trade Union Peace Committee, the Committee on Militarism in Education and a host of other organizations have taken up the cudgels. In Congress Senators Norris and Wheeler and Representative Marcantonio are leading the fight. Within a few days this protest movement converted what had seemed foredoomed and certain into a great question mark. It forced the Senate Military Affairs Committee, which was all set to report out the Burke-Wadsworth compulsory military service bill, hastily to revamp the measure, limiting it to the twenty-one to thirty-one age group instead of eighteen to sixty-four. President Roosevelt has tried to roll back the tidal wave by endorsing conscription while carefuly refraining from committing himself on the Burke-Wadsworth bill. Colonel Knox has rushed in wildly sounding the alarm. More concessions, some highly spurious, are being offered in an effort to avoid complete shipwreck of conscription.

A PARTIAL VICTORY

The American people have won a notable victory. But it is only a partial victory, the first skirmish. A great, hard battle lies ahead —the battle to defeat conscription entirely, to keep America out of war, to defend America against the fascism of Wall Street or Berlin. But what has happened in this first skirmish shows that the battle can be won.

The conscription drive has brought into sharp focus all the reactionary tendencies of the Roosevelt administration. It has exposed the hypocrisy of Republican pretensions to being the peace party. This is no mere military measure designed to enlarge the army and navy. The real objective of the Burke-Wadsworth bill is the conscription of labor and the entire adult male population for purposes to be determined by big business and the military cabal. As pointed out in last week's NEW MASSES in an article by Julian Webb, this bill could be used to break strikes, disrupt unions, and regiment the people in fascist style. Only a government preparing to lead an unwilling people into war would support a measure so destructive of fundamental liberties. The fact that magazines like the *Nation* and *New Republic* are endorsing a proposal which would black out all liberal thought adds a footnote to the epitaph for the kind of liberalism that they represented.

The fact is that an army adequate to defend the United States against any possible invasion could be secured through voluntary enlistment. Contrary to reports, there has been no lag in recruiting. Gen. George C. Marshall, army chief of staff, admitted before the Senate Military Affairs Committee that recruiting in June surpassed the quota which the army had set; and just the other day it was announced that army enlistments in New York City in July were the highest in twenty-one years. Hanson W. Baldwin, military expert of the New York *Times,* the newspaper which first took up the conscription drive, writes in the August *Harpers:* "Conscription in time of war can be justified. But at a time like the present it cannot be justified *on a basis of hemisphere defense,* for no such mass of men as conscription would provide can effectively be used in this hemisphere. . . ." After considering all possible contingencies, Baldwin comes to the conclusion that the United States needs an army of no more than 400,000 men. It should be noted that under the term "hemisphere defense" he includes the use of the armed forces for predatory expeditions to Latin American countries. Actual defense of the United States would probably require even less than 400,000 men despite Secretary of War Stimson's ghost stories about an imminent invasion of the United States through Canada.

In an effort to blackjack into submission the nationwide opposition President Roosevelt has called on Congress and the state legislatures to pass sedition acts and laws against so-called subversive activities. His letter to the conference of governors and law enforcement officials of forty-two states, held under the auspices of the Department of Justice, proposes to resurrect the witch-hunting days of the World War. The President thus borrows a few leaves from the Dies committee, the Hearst press, Father Coughlin, the Silver Shirts, and other fascist agencies which have been demanding such legislation for years. He underlines that conscription is part of a larger program, a program to bring to America the horrors of those nations in Europe where liberty and peace have been blotted out and naked dictatorship placed in power.

But the American people are going to have something to say about that, too. First, the conscription fight must be won. No concessions, real or imaginary, should be allowed to deflect the struggle from its goal: the total defeat of conscription in any form.

PEACE MOBILIZATION

The fight against conscription can become the springboard for the organization of a nationwide movement to keep America out of war. Preparations are now going forward for the Emergency Peace Mobilization to be held in Chicago August 31 to September 2 under the auspices of the Committee to Defend America by Keeping Out of War. Among the speakers at this meeting will be Sen. Gerald P. Nye, Joseph Curran, president of the National Maritime Union, Dr. Francis E. Townsend, Jack McMichael, chairman of the American Youth Congress, Dr. Max Yergan, chairman of the National Negro Congress, Rep. Vito Marcantonio, and Rev. Owen D. Knox, chairman of the National Civil Rights Federation.

The people's movement for peace needs to be distinguished from the efforts of Col. Charles A. Lindbergh to exploit the opposition to war in the interests of those sections of big business that seek a deal with Nazi Germany. The Chicago speech of this spokesman for the American appeasers, with its thinly disguised defense of Nazi Germany and its appeal for a "Christian" crusade against the Soviet Union, points a path fully as dangerous to the American people as that pursued by the Roosevelt administration. Rather must a national peace movement be built in the tradition of the elder Charles A. Lindbergh, who defied the warmongers and vigilante mobs in the last war. Let us take courage from the great uprising against the conscription bill. To the challenge of the Democratic-Republican war party let millions fling back President Roosevelt's own words of four years ago: *we have only just begun to fight.*

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Neither Sharks Nor Tigers

Millions of Latin Americans can make no choice from among the competing imperialisms. Valdes Gonzales, sugar worker, tells Joseph North what he thinks of the Havana conference.

En route to Santiago de Cuba (by mail).

THE narrow-gauge railway took us through Cacoun, the small sugar town, and my friend the Cuban guided me through the village with its thatched roofs. We encountered Valdes Gonzales sitting in front of his rickety one-room cabin—which housed his family of five. What stopped me was the paper Valdes was reading, *Noticias de Hoy,* the island's progressive daily. My friend said he was not surprised: the paper's being read from Havana to Santiago. I had come through here en route to Oriente province to ask some questions of the Cuban folk. It had occurred to me in the Hotel Nacional in Havana, during the pan-American conference, that everybody was quoting Secretary Hull or Argentina's Leopoldo Melo, but nobody was asking the average Latin American what he thought of the goings-on. After all, what 110,000,000 people think about a matter involving their own destiny might be of some importance. Secretary Hull had his own ideas about the business: what did Valdes Gonzales think about it? Of course Valdes is only a laborer and works on a sugar *centrale* and besides, my friend later told me, he was most likely raised in an orphan asylum. Abandoned children are placed in orphan asylums and the government holds lotteries to pay for their upkeep. Many of the male children reared in that fashion, my Havana friend explained, are named Valdes, after a St. Valdes popular in Cuba. Perhaps Mr. Hull might not be impressed by these humble biographical details, but some day he may be dealing with Valdes rather than Dr. Leopoldo Melo.

VALDES GONZALES

Valdes was not at all abashed when I asked him what I wanted to know. After he ascertained that I was no enemy agent he handed me his copy of *Hoy*. "Here," he said, "here are my eyes. I have never set foot outside my province but with this paper I have traveled the world." He invited me inside to talk a bit. I told him the train might leave shortly—it had stopped for some minor repairs. He said that what he had to say would take only a few moments. I went inside and in the darkness of the shack I saw the misery he wanted me to see. One child lay in bed sick, its eyes bright with fever, the little brown face aflame. "Typhoid," Valdes said. "There's an epidemic of it here now." He told me his story: four months' work a year and 80 cents a day's pay. Company stores and scrip. And generally it is almost impossible for a stranger to get into the sugar village, he said. Atlantic Gulf Sugar Co. doesn't like strangers around. It was worth five years of your time and perhaps your life to be a labor organizer around here until the new constitution was adopted this year. His was the common Cuban story, for most of Cuba labors in the monopoly-owned countryside. Valdes apologized because he had nothing to offer his guests—nothing, he said, but a few words. But several minutes later his oldest boy returned with a few glasses of pineapple juice. About that Havana conference? He knows how horrible Nazism is. Certainly, what workingman doubts that? But what about the fascism of United Fruit? What about the fascism of Chase National and National City Bank, who backed Machado when his killers were throwing labor leaders to the sharks in Havana Bay? And what about Sumner Welles, who, he said, had flown Machado to safety in Welles' private plane? Trust the government of which Mr. Welles was an emissary? What would you do, senor? His aging wife moved around the room caring for the sick child. "What about the imperialism that condemns my children to a life like this?" To choose between imperialisms, he said, is like asking a man whether he wants to be eaten by a shark or devoured by a tiger. "I am for neither," he said. "Neither sharks nor tigers are to my taste." That was his comment on the Havana conference.

Yes, his was the story of the men who labor for United Fruit Co., for Atlantic Gulf Sugar, for the Vertiente Sugar Co. (National City Bank). It was the ordinary tale of the agrarian worker who earns as little as 28 cents a day during the three or four months of the harvest season, the *zafra.*

I learned the following: that in 1937-38, for example, when all of Cuba's imports totaled $107,000,000, some 70 percent came from the United States. Of Cuba's exports that year, amounting to $165,000,000, some 80 percent went to the United States. I learned that the *Norteamericanos* control 80 percent of the sugar industry; 90 percent of the maritime; 50 percent of transports such as rails and streetcars, most of the public services, 90 percent of mining and almost half of tobacco. They have over a billion dollars invested in the Pearl of the Antilles. Great Britain is a poor second with about $200,000,000 invested, principally in railroads. Spanish capital comes third (and accounts for the growth of the Falange here). The result of all this? It was not to bring prosperity to this jewel of an island. I looked at the thin, weary face of the man, and there was his child burning up. Yes, here it is, the end-product of imperialism, whether it be Yankee, British, Nazi, or Japanese: Valdes Gonzales and his kid burning up with typhoid.

I thought of the torrent of words, the glossy propaganda poured out at the Hotel Nacional a few days ago. I wondered here how many more millions of Latins are burning with bitterness against all their exploiters. And it struck me suddenly that we hadn't got the full sense of that resolution passed by the pan-American conference—the action against so-called fifth columns. It purported to move against the plottings of Nazi agents in Latin American consulates, but I suddenly saw that it carried a lot more freight than that. It was against Valdes Gonzales and the millions more like him who want a change for the better. After all, who were the people in charge of this Havana conference? The great majority of them were anti-democratic, many of them openly sympathetic to fascism. They might, if it paid well enough, buck Nazi fascism, Nazi penetration, but they wanted their own, tropical brand of fascism here. The Havana meeting was not representative of Latin America, God knows. Take for example the man in charge of the press at the conference, el Conde (the count) Nicolas del Rivero. He is brother to Jose Ignacio Rivero, owner of Cuba's richest and most reactionary paper, *Diario de la Marina,* and incidentally, leader of the falangist movement in Cuba. And what about the Brazilian delegates, Dictator Vargas' men? And aristocratic Leopoldo Melo? And many others like them? No wonder Mr. Hull scarcely mentioned "democracy" during his entire stay at Havana. Of course that fifth column resolution was principally against men like Valdes here! He might "tend to subvert" the domestic institutions of the Latin American lands or "foment disorder in their internal political life" by demanding 5 cents more per hour. The resolution was loosely enough worded to cover a multitude of sins. He might want to "modify by pressure, propaganda, threats, or in any other manner, the free and sovereign right" of the Latin American peoples "to be governed by their existing democratic systems." *Their existing democratic systems!*

A "GUMSHOE INTERNATIONAL"

That resolution continued: ". . . the governments of the American republics declare that the fullest interchange of information between them is essential with regard to the aforementioned activities within their respective jurisdictions. . . ." In other words, the basis was laid at Havana for a "gumshoe international," a continental police force, "exchanging information" about labor leaders, "agitators," in fact any sort of liberal action which the Act of Havana would interpret in ways that a Count Rivero or a President Vargas saw fit. And the United States delegation fostered this resolution; the final arbiter of democracy on the continent was to be that great liberal, J. Edgar Hoover, working with United Fruit and Chase National Bank to see to it men like Valdes didn't get too troublesome. Indeed, Mr. Hoover was growing to continental size!

Before boarding the train I had talked to a number of Cubans, leaders of the labor and

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progressive movement, men like Blas Roca, newly elected congressman and head of the Cuban Communist Party, men like Lazaro Pena, general secretary of the Cuban Workers Confederation; liberal newspapermen who asked me to withhold their names, Juan Marinello, the writer, and others. The general picture of the conference, now that the smoke has blown away, is about this.

Secretary Hull did an "effective job." "Your man from Tennessee is a good horsetrader," one newspaperman said to me, "particularly when he is trading with a Colt in his hand." The liberal newspapermen felt that the United States had gained more at this conference than she had at Panama or Lima. Hull had the force and the acumen, they said, to alter the course of the first five days of the conference when everything was going against Washington. But all agreed on the following: that the Havana meetings did not achieve everything that Yankee imperialism originally sought. Far from it. The plans had to be modified for two basic reasons. First, the inter-imperialist differences that obtain here between the United States on the one hand and British, Japanese, and probably Nazi influence on the other. Second, the pressure of national forces, the desire of the native Latin American bourgeoisie to carry on commerce with all the world.

Most of them agreed that the declaration on the European colonies "was a shameful concession. It did not correspond either to the interests or the will of the peoples."

All of them felt that the United States wanted "agreement" on the mandate issue so that it could move unilaterally, when necessary, to gobble up any possession at any time it chose. The Act of Havana has this clause:

> If the necessity for emergency action be deemed so urgent as to make it impossible to await action of the whole committee, any of the American republics, individually or jointly with others, shall have the right to act in a manner required for its defense or for the defense of the continent.

And what country was likely to act "individually" against a European imperialism, save the United States? Indeed, the Act of Havana, they all felt, was valuable primarily for propagandistic purposes. Washington hoped that by the Havana "agreement" the charge "Yankee imperialism" would not carry the same weight when the United States swept into action. All these Cubans felt that agreement or no agreement the Northern Colossus would act when it so desired, as it did against Nicaragua, against Santo Domingo, against Cuba, against Mexico. Few illusions on that score down here.

Most felt that the concessions made to Yankee imperialism carry the danger common to all appeasement policies: more appeasement. "And each concession made to Wall Street endangers our economic and national independence," one of them said. They pointed out that the Cuban delegation played an "obscure, none too brave" part. The Cuban delegates, in their opinion, did not represent the will of the democratic masses of the island. And since this present government is but a lame-duck setup, they felt that Cuba's "commitments" should be repudiated by the people.

The United States delegation did definitely retreat in regard to what Wall Street wanted most, the cartel, Blas Roca pointed out. Likewise, concerning Hull's original plans for military and air bases in Latin America. It was Roca's opinion that the perspective was for continued pressure on the various countries, one by one. Blas Roca added: "Some voices did speak up at the conference on behalf of popular interests." He cited the Chilean economic proposals and the refugee resolution suggested by Mexico. "These voices will not be lost in the void," he said. "They will be recognized throughout the continent as the true sentiment of South America."

The congressman-elect pointed out that the horrors of Nazi imperialism were not a "Teutonic phenomenon." Yankee imperialism has nothing to boast about, he said. What about the lynchings of Negroes in your own South, he asked. Whatever did happen to the anti-lynching bill in your own Congress?

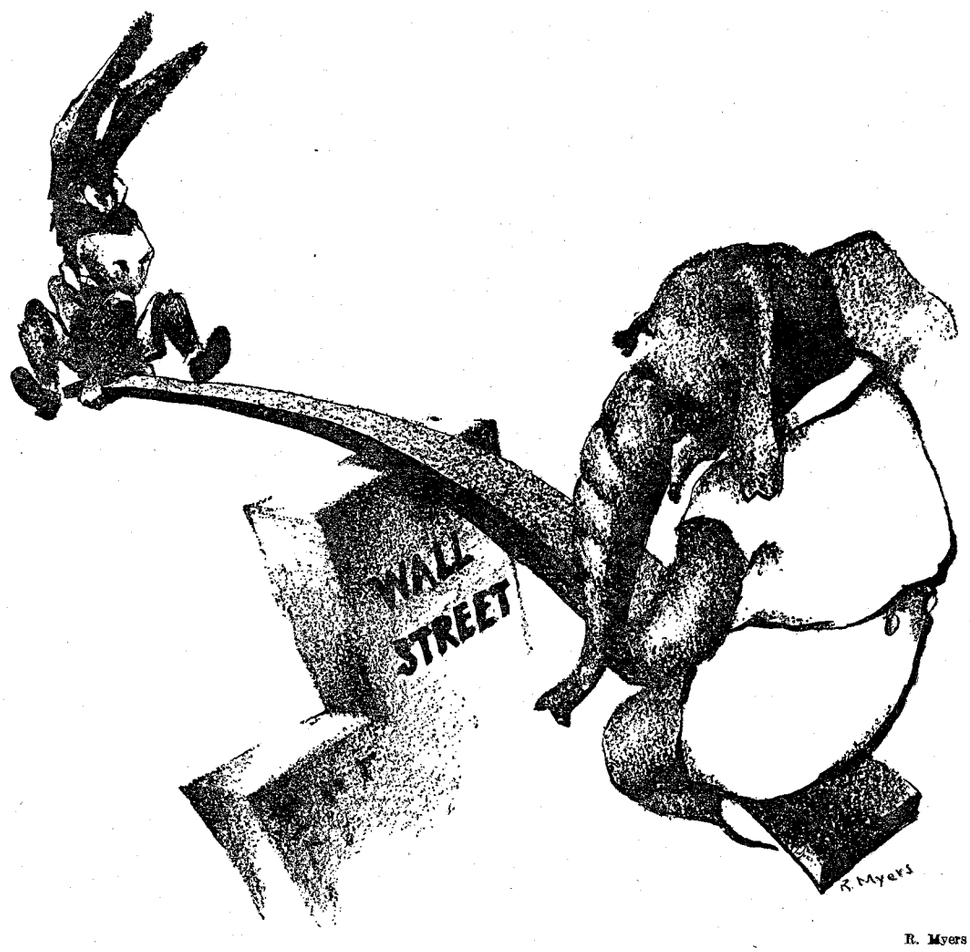
Listen, Roca said: In 1932 there was no talk of competition between Nazi and Yankee imperialism, was there? Still, the wages of the Cuban workers were cut to a point that is hard for outsiders to understand. Before the "menace" of Nazi imperialism existed, the wages of half a million sugar workers were slashed to between 35 and 40 cents a *day* for a ten- to twelve-hour day. The conditions of the sugar market and the system of taxes of the United States caused these shameful wages. And today, with wartime dislocation of international trade and a consequent slump in the economics of world capitalism, American imperialists will point to the Nazis as their reason for reducing wages, and the Nazis will point across the sea to explain their continued reductions in wages. Thus, both American and German workers will pay for the privilege of imperialism's drive into Latin American markets.

"No," he said, "we do not choose Nazi imperialism nor Yankee imperialism. We choose no imperialism. We stand for the absolute independence of the Latin American lands."

He said the real necessity for Hispano-America was intercontinental unity based on a program of genuine mutual aid, economically, politically, culturally. Thus these nations would strengthen their economies, find industrialization, extend democracy rather than truncate it as Wall Street wishes. "We must find common action in the fight not only against European imperialisms," he said, "but also against that of North America."

He expressed in trenchant, generalized form what the millions of Valdes Gonzaleses felt throughout the island. And the millions more down the length of the continent. And with that understanding Mr. Hull can scarcely feel too secure about his victories, despite all the expensive kowtowing of Dr. Leopoldo Melo. Valdes Gonzales put it best: neither the tiger nor the shark.

JOSEPH NORTH.



R. Myers

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Background to Chaos

R. Palme Dutt, renowned British Marxist, delineates the history of the French collapse. The "Either—Or" issue confronting the peoples of Europe. Imperialist relations in the melting pot.

London, England.

WESTERN Europe, the old stronghold of capitalism, the stronghold of opposition to revolution because "it might mean bloodshed," the stronghold of the oppression of nations all over the world, is learning a hard lesson today. In the midst of the collapse of states and empires, the violent breakup of the rotting old order, millions and millions of people—nations which formerly appeared in the uppermost hierarchy of imperialist domination—find themselves in a moment hurled to the depths of misery, servitude, and national annihilation. The bourgeoisie in its downfall drags down the nation and betrays the people, wherever the mass movement, led by the organized working class, is not ready and equipped in time to take over the power and forge its salvation. This has been the bitter experience of France, last of a long series of countries. This in its own distinctive form threatens to be the experience of Britain, if action is not taken in time. Because they are only now in the remorseless sequel of events reaching that ultimate abyss to which their rulers have condemned so many other peoples, the people of England have still, even at this late hour, the chance to learn from the experience of those other peoples, break through the bonds which tie them to the ruling class, and find their way to salvation by their independent initiative for themselves and for the world. But this chance will not last long. The great "Either—Or" between the continued rule of the financial oligarchy and the existence of the people now approaches its climax. Through these past two decades this "Either—Or," this life-and-death issue of existence or destruction, which ever more sharply confronts the people of this metropolitan center of a historically doomed empire, has proclaimed itself with reiterated insistence through all the deepening decay of the rule of the finance-capitalist oligarchy, strangling, throttling, paralyzing, and finally betraying the nation. The edge of the precipice is here. The choice before the people takes on a terrible and elementary simplicity.

THE FINAL CHOICE

Over half a century ago Engels, basing his analysis on the inevitable doom of the former world monopoly of British capitalism before the onset of the rival German capitalism and American capitalism, pointed forward to the approaching hour when the British people would be forced to face the final choice between the continued domination of the ruling capitalist class and their own existence. History has fulfilled that prediction with an even more merciless completeness and in even more startling fashion in the detail of its realization than Engels at that time could have possibly foreseen. Engels wrote of the approaching hour when the grim alternative "Starve or Rebel" would confront the British workers. Today the prime minister of the British millionaires makes a public speech in which he holds out the prospect of the bourgeoisie abandoning the island "subjugated and starving" and betaking themselves and their seat of government to the New World, whither they have already been engaged in moving their gold and valuables. Such is the glorious outcome of three centuries of bourgeois rule.

DEEPENING CRISIS

The advance of the war carries with it the deepening crisis of the bourgeois system, expressed in sharp inner social and political conflicts especially in the countries which suffer military defeats, at the same time as it throws all the relations of imperialism and the existing division of the world into the melting pot. The interaction of these manifold processes of upheaval, at a far more advanced stage of decay of the existing society than in the last war, leads to the extreme instability of development of the present war and of the whole international situation. Therefore "the international situation has become pregnant with surprises," in the words of the Soviet Trade Union resolution of June 26. Four years of the first imperialist war brought the world to the depths of an abyss of misery, want, and disease. Ten months of this war have already brought, in the train of the battling armies, the massacres and destruction, the advancing specters of general chaos, famine, and pestilence, which will not spare this country and know no frontiers of victors and vanquished.

As the awakening and struggle of the masses against their fate develop, so the counter-revolutionary fury of the bourgeoisie increases and in its turn exercises a powerful influence on the issues of the war. *The fear of revolution begins to become the overmastering fear of the bourgeoisie.* This outcome has received its classic demonstration in France, the weakest link in the imperialist chain, leading to the final shipwreck of French imperialism and the heavy burdens which have been placed on the French people by their ruling class in union with the German ruling class.

Twenty years ago French imperialism appeared at the highest point of its power. Having skillfully utilized the Anglo-German antagonism and the German-Russian antagonism to build up a new balance of forces in their favor and carry through their war of revenge for the outcome of the war of 1870-71, the French bourgeoisie now held victory in their grasp and power to dominate and mold the Continent of Europe according to their own conception, while the German bourgeoisie lay temporarily prostrated by the blows of the German workers' revolution. They built up their Versailles system of vassal states to hold Germany disarmed, dismembered, and permanently subject. But the real strength of French capitalism, far inferior in resources, technique, the rate of development and concentration to the highly advanced German capitalism, was not equal to maintaining this artificial supremacy. On the one hand, British and American capitalism, from the day that the war ended, continuously undermined the French domination of Europe, working to restore German capitalism and reestablish the unstable equilibrium of France and Germany as the condition of preventing the growth of any single dominant European power. On the other hand, the real destruction of German militarism could only have been accomplished by the power of the German working people destroying the power of the large landowners, industrialists, and military caste. But the French ruling class, paralyzed by the panic fear of the socialist revolution spreading from the borders of Russia to the Rhine, did everything to strangle the German revolution, assist the forces of reaction, connive at their secret rearming, and thus build up just those forces which were the forces of revenge against Versailles and for the final destruction of French power. In this way the entire policy of the French ruling class as a whole (not simply of some individuals or sections allied to German capital) over twenty years built up the power of Hitler and prepared their own nemesis which has horrified the world. From the silence of their graves Clemenceau and Poincare may contemplate the final fulfillment of their handiwork.

FRENCH POLICY

Not after the German breakthrough in May, but already years before the war the French ruling class had lost their independence and were more and more clearly falling to the rank of a secondary power. The last attempt of French imperialism, swollen with overconfidence from the victory of 1918, to play a completely independent role against both Britain and Germany ended in shipwreck with the collapse of the Ruhr occupation of 1923. Thereafter French policy wavered between the line of unification with German capital (Briand-Stresemann, Thoiry, Pan-Europe) and increasingly dependent collaboration with the fickle and perfidious Brit-

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ish partner. After the coming of Hitler to power even that possibility of maneuvering disappeared. A final desperate attempt to recover independence against the increasingly close Anglo-Nazi collaboration was made by the bold stroke, prepared by Barthou and carried through by Laval, of the Franco-Soviet pact in 1935. But again the same class fears, paralyzing even a clear imperialist policy, prevented the pact's being made operative; the staff conversations, which could alone have translated the pact from a gesture to reality, were consistently refused by the French government. Thereby the French rulers sealed their doom, and the rest of Barthou's attempted restored structure was made inoperative, as subsequently Munich revealed.

BRITISH POLICY

From 1936 every French government was the slave of British policy. British policy systematically destroyed the French system of alliances in Europe. By the rearming of Germany and stifling of French protests in the early stages when that rearmament could have been easily checked; by the shattering of Laval's attempt at Franco-Italian collaboration; and by the imposing of non-intervention in relation to the war of German-Italian aggression in Spain, the British Foreign Office rendered France vulnerable on three frontiers, and by Munich finally left France isolated in Europe. Then, when it suited British imperialist interests to reverse the engines and declare war on Hitler, Britain dragged this weakened France, robbed of her allies and of her whole system of defenses, into a desperate war against Hitler, whose forces France had to meet almost alone with only the most limited British military aid. And when France collapsed after nine months, the British ruling class had the insolence to accuse the French of "betrayal," only to find themselves met with no less fierce countercharges from the French rulers. So, after thirty-six years, ends the idyll of the "Entente" of Anglo-French imperialism, begotten in greed of gain and plans of war and dying in shame and humiliation. From his grave Edward VII may also contemplate the final fulfillment of his handiwork.

As the star of the French bourgeoisie sank during those critical years of the middle 1930's, so the star of the French working class rose. The defeat of fascism by the militant working class under the leadership of the Communist Party in 1934, the consequent formation of the united working class front and the People's Front on the initiative of the Communist Party, followed by the election victories of 1936, placed the ball at the feet of the French working class. The path opened to lead the working class and democratic forces of Europe, to make effective the Franco-Soviet pact, to stand by Spanish democracy, and so to build up that front which could have prevented the war and cleared the way for the advance to socialism. This chance also was lost through the disruption of the front

Aime

Secret Weapon

by the leadership of the French Socialist Party, the Blums and the Faures. The same fear of the working class revolution which actuated the French bourgeoisie actuated the Blums and the Faures and their colleagues of petty bourgeois democracy, the Radical Socialists, the Daladiers and the Bonnets. Fearful of any independent course, they acted as the docile tools of the British Foreign Office; Blum sponsored Non-Intervention to betray Spanish democracy; they refused equally the staff conversations to make the Franco-Soviet pact effective; they carried through and applauded Munich as the victory of peace; they disrupted the united front and People's Front. Thereby they made the war inevitable; and when the war came, they blindly plunged into it as the servants of Anglo-French capital, mouthing the slogans of democracy against fascism, which they had already betrayed and rendered meaningless, and directing their fire against Communism and the left, whilst fascism was already installed in the high command. *The doom of France was completed during these years of betrayal; and on the tombstone above all other names will appear the name of Blum.*

THE FRENCH COMMUNISTS

The death decree against the French Communists was the death decree against the French republic. The French Communist Party, which had led the anti-fascist fight in the years of the betrayal of democracy to fascism, had alone correctly understood the real character of the war, and fought from the outset to save the French people from the catastrophe it correctly foresaw. The French bourgeoisie, consistently with their diminished role of the preceding years, during which their imperialist interests had already been undermined and sacrificed by Anglo-Nazi policy, saw in the war, not primarily a struggle against Hitler, but a prolongation of the class war. While remaining completely passive on the western front, not even concerning themselves with strengthening the defenses of the extension of the Maginot Line, and leaving Hitler a free hand in Poland, they sought by every means to inflame war against the Soviet Union and dispatched their planes and equipment, in which they were already inferior to Hitler, out of France to the anti-Soviet front. While releasing and promoting the leaders of fascism, the Cagoulards, the Doriots, the advocates of Franco-German union, to the highest positions in the administration and in the military command, they directed their main offensive against the Communists, against the trade unions, against the anti-fascist refugees, against democratic liberties, that is, against all the genuine anti-fascist and democratic forces. The infatuated leaders of the French Socialist Party, the Blums and the Faures, ably seconded by the leaders of the British Labor Party and the "left" intellectuals in this country, applauded and hounded on the campaign, directing all their fire against the left, and not against the right, as the danger to France; acclaimed every advance of fascism in the name of "patriotism" and "the fight against fascism"; entered into coalition governments with the open leaders of organized fascism, while suppressing the majority party of the working class, imprisoning all working class deputies, and breaking up their elected municipal councils; and thus, having gagged and handcuffed the people, having

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opened the gates to Hitler and given the keys to his agents, ensured the final collapse.

Read today Blum's speech to the Bournemouth Labor Party Conference, received with such applause in the governmental and official Labor press. Every line is today an indictment of the leadership of the French Socialist Party, of the leadership of the British Labor Party, of the entire Second International. Read Victor Gollancz' (head of the Left Book Club) pamphlet and similar literature. Their words should today bring a blush of shame even to cheeks of brass. It was a French "Socialist" deputy who first publicly demanded the execution of French Communists, just as is was the Belgian "Socialist" De Man who led the campaign against the Communists in Belgium and has since turned out to be an agent of the Gestapo. When the death sentence against Communists was justified by Blum before an applauding Labor Party Conference, the shame and suicidal frenzy of the Second International touched bottom. When that death decree was introduced, we gave warning that it was a sentence of death, not against a handful of revolutionary workers, but against the entire French working class, against French democracy, and against the French nation. In how few weeks has the truth of this been demonstrated! Remember China, where the beheading of Communists was introduced in 1927; from that moment the sweeping advance of the Chinese national revolution was reversed; the way was opened to the Japanese partition of China; and only in these recent years, when the equal rights of the Communists in the national front have been reestablished, has the tide been turned to begin to stem the Japanese advance and save China. In every country the Communists, the representatives of the militant working class, are the backbone of the real defense of the people. Let the British labor movement learn the lesson in time. The democracy which suppresses its Communists has already surrendered to fascism.

POLITICAL COLLAPSE

The collapse of France was not merely a military collapse. It was a political collapse. It was the collapse of a rotten state, which had already been undermined from within by its ruling class, as in the case of Poland; of a disintegrating society, which had already lost the power and the will to defend itself; the upper class had lost the will to resist, because they feared their own people more than the foreign enemy; while the masses were bound and paralyzed and robbed of a possibility to defend themselves. Only a popular revolution led by the Communist Party could have saved France; but the Blums and the Jouhaux stood as policemen, disrupters, and executioners on behalf of the bourgeoisie to prevent that. Reynaud might mouth his perorations about no surrender and the retreat to North Africa or Devil's Island from which to maintain the power of the French bourgeoisie. But the words were empty bluff, even from the standpoint of the bourgeoisie, once the French people, the basis of their power and exploitation, had been sacrificed. It was Reynaud who placed in power the Petains, the Weygands, and the Ybarnegarays, while suppressing the working class and democracy. These acts, and not his words, determined the outcome. Thereby Reynaud demonstrated the unity of the class against the people. It was Reynaud who sponsored the demand for an armistice. In the final crisis Reynaud, when he could no longer maintain his position, rather than appeal to the people, arrest the fascist leaders, and hand over power to the working class and democratic forces who could alone have saved France, preferred to hand over power to Petain, that is, to the alliance of French and German fascism against the people. Thereby was demonstrated the counter-revolutionary solidarity of the class in the final crisis.

In the last act of the crisis the French ruling class, incapable of maintaining its independent rule, had to face the choice between absorption into the British empire or absorption into the German empire. No other alternative was open to them, since the only other alternative was the power of the people, which they excluded. With the usual exquisite tact which has marked the dealings of the British Podsnaps with their erring French brothers, the lords of the City chose the moment of France's mortal agony to offer a document ready and complete for signature on the dotted line by which France should finally abandon her independent existence and become a province of the British empire. In that moment of history the reality of Federal Union was laid bare as the figleaf of the annexationist plans of British imperialism. Against this final humiliation the French bourgeoisie revolted. Faced with the choice of becoming a section of the British empire, with the final disappearance of their existence as an independent state, or with continuing as a vassal state of the German empire, they chose the latter. Nor was the reason of the choice difficult to understand. The former alternative meant the indefinite prolongation of an uncertain war, in which they would become a refugee government, cut off from their basis of exploitation and wealth, and with doubtful prospects of ever returning. The latter alternative meant that they could at any rate continue for a period as ruling exploiters in their own country, even though henceforth in a subordinate capacity and only permitted to enjoy such share of the spoils as would be left them. They chose the latter and signed the Nazi armistice terms. The long battle of Mitteleuropa, which had been opened, but not settled by the last war, since the weaker French capitalism had been placed in temporary domination over the stronger German capitalism, had now culminated in the establishment of Mitteleuropa under German domination. In the cannibal contest of imperialism there is now one power less.

R. PALME DUTT.

Mr. Dutt's second article will appear next week.

Thousands May Die

EVERY one of us would, if we could, give refuge to the unhappy Europeans who are forced to flee from the twin terrors of fascism and war. Not so long ago the refugee problem was relatively simple. Jews, liberals, radicals, enemies of the fascist regimes were able to find havens on the continent. But the tragic events of the last year have trapped new millions, and if it was once a fact that relatively few refugees were ever able to cross the ocean to America, it is now true that none but bankers, bankrupt politicians, royal puppets, and wealthy hangers-on can reach these shores. Even the few children who have been shipped to America were chosen by Great Britain on the basis of their parents' wealth or social position. No one begrudges their safety. But it is a bitter fact that no workers' children have arrived.

As for the anti-fascist fighters from many lands, few have been admitted to the United States. These hundreds of thousands—Germans, Italians, Poles, Czechs, Austrians, Spaniards of the loyalist ranks and members of the International Brigade—are in desperate straits. They may be slaughtered. Thousands may die. The League of American Writers last week sent an urgent appeal to the Pan-American Conference. The American Committee for Democracy and Intellectual Freedom sent Prof. Walter Rautenstrauch to Havana to plead with Secretary of State Hull. Cuba, Chile, and Bolivia supported the plea, but our government has not yet acted. Via Sweden comes another appeal. Extermination will be the fate of internationally known scientists, doctors, writers, lawyers, men and women such as Heinrich Mann, Lion Feuchtwanger, Hilda Maddalena, Siegfried Raphael, and many, many others still in France. The US cruiser *Trenton* brought the royal house of Luxemburg to safety over here. The Hapsburgs have found a regal haven in Massachusetts and new Rothschilds arrive on every Clipper plane. With each minute the danger to the uncompromising defenders of democracy grows. Do not wait: write at once to Secretary Hull, urging him to act before it is too late.

The Lion Twitters

"MISS [Dorothy] Thompson's radio eulogy of Mr. Churchill was also given respectful attention, although modest Englishmen blushed when she referred to this incredibly delicate and exquisite mechanism, this remarkable and artistic thing—the British empire.'" — *Mollie Panter-Downes' "Letter from London" in the "New Yorker."*

Among Pirates

NOW we know whose traditions the members of the New York Stock Exchange are following. According to the WPA's Historical Records Survey, Captain Kidd was the original beneficiary of a bequest conveying the land on which the Exchange now stands.

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Tennessee Trek

Inside the iris state with the crack news analyst and globetrotter James Dugan, just returned after two breathtaking weeks on the spot.

THE Copper Basin in eastern Tennessee has not been discovered by our painters, who will do well to go there immediately. Ducktown and Copperhill, the twin capitals of copper, roost on a hilly plateau where there has been no vegetation since 1908. That year fumes from the copper cooking process withered everything green and left the dry, scaly ocher hills and gutted arroyos. On the highest hills are the mine shafts and the imperial castles of the copper barons; and scattered below are the shanties of the miners with a few sticks of brave corn struggling in the yard. The earth is every tint of yellow to red. In Copperhill a plume of yellow smoke ascends from the incredible pile of the largest sulphuric acid plant in the world, where war orders are signalized by a new American flag flying over the plant.

Ducktown has had a strike of the Mine, Mill, and Smelter Workers, and it was busted by a bomb frameup on several active unionists. The men are alleged to have dynamited a TVA dam, a curious choice on the part of the law because TVA is as sacred to the hill people as their unions. I asked Roy and Troy Cheathem, voluble eleven-year-old twins of Ducktown, what kind of a town it was. "There's only two kinds of people in this town," said Roy. "CIO's and scabs."

LABOR COLLEGE

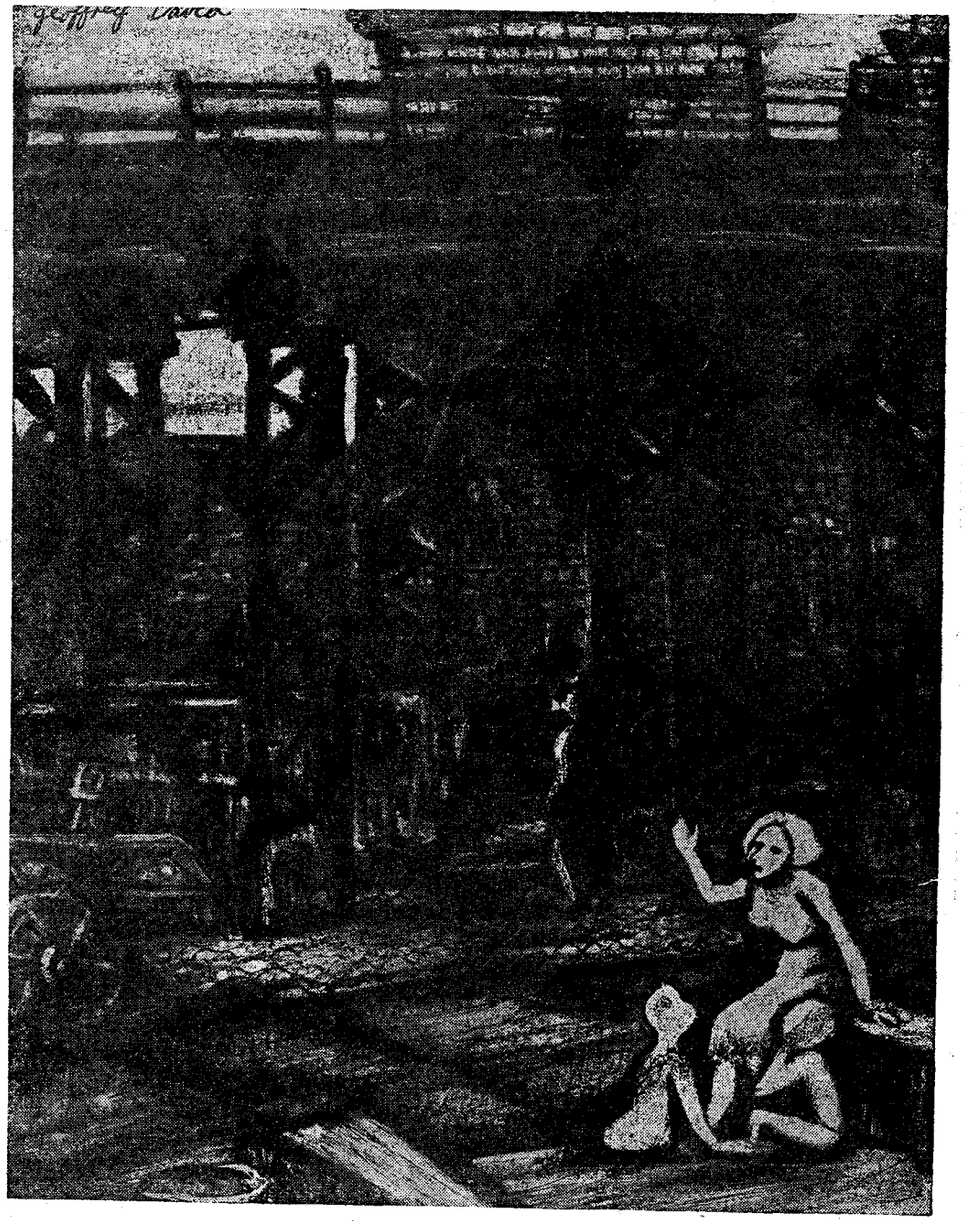
Highlander Folk School at Monteagle, Tenn., trains fifty Southern trade unionists every year. The labor movement in the South is twice as strong for this number of well trained organizers scattered back into the runaway pants factories, rubber plants, steel mills, mines, and white collar unions of the South. Highlander operates on a budget of $12,000 a year, which includes full salaries for ten staff members, upkeep of the school, scholarships for about half the students, and traveling expenses for staff members on organizing trips. Highlander's secretaries, usually Vassar girls, make $12 a year and spend it like water. The school has strong roots in the countryside. When American Legionnaires announced their intention of wrecking the school, the woods quietly filled up with lean men and squirrel rifles. The legionnaires stayed in town and got drunk. Highlander is periodically "exposed" as a hotbed of free love, etc., by Southern publishers; the school retaliates by organizing another sweatshop.

GRUNDY COUNTY

Labor's Non-Partisan League is a power in Grundy County. Roy Thomas is the labor sheriff, and Estes Kefauver, labor-supported congressman, was the only Southern representative to vote against the Smith amendments to the Wagner act. Eighty percent of Grundy County's ablebodied men are unemployed. Tracy City has a few jobs in coal and there is some work cutting "bugwood"—trees for chemical uses. These beautiful coves and plateaus of the Cumberlands are full of the most incredible poverty. Labor's Non-Partisan League is referred to as the "Reds" by both sides. Begun as an epithet it is now a term of almost affection.

TVA VS. WILLKIE

Buzz Windrip Willkie will get few votes in Tennessee, although the state is by no means traditionally Democratic. Tennesseeans volunteered for both sides in the Civil War and the bipartisan tradition is firm. But there is always TVA—the Ocoee Dam, clean as an emerald, backing up miles on the road to Ducktown, Chickamauga, Norris Dam; the cosmic seed of electric power is planted in this fallow earth. The ubiquitous wires vault over the farthest mountain, the deepest valley, in cabins whose inhabitants have never seen an automobile or a Negro. The Grand Old Party would do well to omit Willkie's connection with Commonwealth & Southern in these hills. The main attitude of the people is apathy toward the campaign. It is difficult to find arguments or discussions about national politics. The war is something else. The people



Geoffrey David

". . . And in a dark forest, even darker than this, lived the captive fairy princess."

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don't want to save anybody but themselves. A mountain sheriff was recently assassinated by a native who thought the sheriff was coming to take him off to war.

STUDENT

At the Writer's Workshop, held by the League of American Writers at Highlander Folk School, one of the students was a trade unionist from Columbia, Miss., named Dovey Dowdle. She has sisters named Lovey and Dorsey.

PART SINGING

I took some jazz records to Tennessee, but listened mostly to an amateur choir in Highlander singing eighteenth century harpsichord hymns in four parts, often in the mannered and lovely Phrygian mode. These lugubrious invitations to sweet death such as the morose "O, Feeble Man," were led with fine feeling by Leon Wilson, son of the late Harry Leon Wilson, who is connected with the staff at Highlander.

THE UNION

Southern trade union leaders are shrewd and courageous. Highlander recently had a student of forty who is a rubber union leader at Gadsden, Ala. It was the practice of the management in his plant to set a squad of gunmen and sluggers on individual unionists in the washrooms of the plant. The goon squad operated systematically, picking off one man a day. Our man knew his number was coming up and went about his business with complete aplomb. One morning the boss asked him to drop in the office that afternoon to talk about the union. Coming out of a shower at noon, clad only in a shirt, the worker saw the sluggers closing in on him, some with guns, some with blackjacks. He reached his locker and simultaneously got four blackjack blows on the head. His head was as hard as his resolution, he drew a mill knife from his locker and closed in on the thugs, slicing them expertly. The killers broke and ran through the plant toward the offices, our man in hot pursuit, his shirttail flying and the mill knife snickering away at the vanishing pants of the goons. The seven killers swept out through the ornate lobby of the plant, screaming for confederates to "take him off!" After their moans had died down a dusty street, the unionist went back to his locker, put on his clothes, and marched into the boss's office with his mill knife. The employer, not a little distraught, talked sense about the union, unable to take his eyes off the knife on the desk before him.

MINE HOST

Near South Pittsburgh there is a tourist cabin village called Awcumoninn. I counted seventeen caves between Carlisle, Pa., and Chattanooga. If this writing business ever peters out I'm going to open up a Great Stone Face along one of our highways.

The political party with the acumen to write an anti-toll bridge pledge into its platform will win the solid motorist vote. This brand of the local gouge has supplanted blowouts, speed traps, and highway robbery as a hazard of the road; it gets everyone. What the hell kind of a national government have we anyway when these pirates with a change belt regulate interstate commerce? What we need is a reciprocal customs moratorium between the banks of our rivers.

HISTORICAL ICING

The South comforts itself with History, which as everyone knows is confined to the exact spot where each Confederate shavetail sustained his wounds, or where George Washington planted a tree (which I suspect must be euphemistic—or George was a veritable Johnny Appleseed), or the somewhat hazy facts about some men watering their horses during the Revolution near this spot. A Tennesseean told me of traveling ten years ago along a Virginia highway and stopping at each "historical" marker to post himself on the glories of the state. Last year, taking the same route, he became puzzled by tablets near a pond which referred to "near this hill," and tablets on a hillside which spoke of "fording this river," and tablets announcing ruins where there were no ruins. A native cleared it all up by explaining that the road had been drastically rerouted and all the tablets had been moved to accommodate.

LOOKOUT MOUNTAIN

Chattanooga looks like Williamsport, Pa., a Northern industrial city in the South, with actual newspapers with news in them, including "Colored Obituary," which nicely designates a Jim Crow heaven after this Jim Crow earth. Above Chattanooga, on Lookout Mountain, where the wealthy now live in ugly chateaux with back porches two thousand feet high, was fought one of the most astounding battles in history, which you will hear about more properly in William Blake's forthcoming novel about the Civil War. Several companies of New Yorkers, including thousands of recent German immigrants, stormed this great rock cliff in a mist and shook the Southerners off a citadel considered more impregnable than Vicksburg. Grant, who had taken Vicksburg a few months before, was astounded. He had ordered his army to take the Confederate line at the foot of the mountain, but the men kept on going, and the Rebels were caught in one of those foolish positions prevalent in military science from Hastings to the Maginot Line. The Rebel batteries could not depress their fire straight down, and besides their own men were coming on ahead of the Yankees.

There are over a thousand tablets on the battlefield and I could not find one that gave the faintest inkling of what happened in the battle. Lookout Mountain Memorial National Park was inscribed by a commission representing both South and North, and when the deletions in fact were made by both sides, the markers were left with a satisfactory and voluminous list of officer personnel and casualties and numbers of Napoleons in the Confederate batteries, but not a word of sense about the battle or who won it. Indeed, on the matter of casualties, each side adduces its own evidence, and the Confederate Army memorandum begins with the claim that Polk's Army was not really defeated: it retreated. Such is the sense of American history given to the millions of patriots who seek out the actual spot.

COLA WAR

The South has its share of the particulars of the national misery. But it has Coca Cola. Or to be more exact, it has a Cola War, between Coca Cola, Pepsi-Cola, and a grandiose version called Double Cola. This struggle is more violent than the Willkie-Roosevelt business.

GETTING A DRINK

Comical liquor laws are plenty in the South. Tennessee requires the tippler to bring his own jug and ask for a "setup," consisting of the other ingredients of his cocktail, and bottled liquor may not be bought in restaurants. Cafes have answered this with an institution called "The Office" in neon letters. The Office stands in back of the joint like a privy and is attended by a man who sleeps on a cot in the tiny room. From his locked cabinet you buy your bottle at little more than retail prices, retrace your steps, and consume your liquor at a considerable saving over the same amount purchased mixed.

DIRT FARMER

On the train north of Chattanooga a lean, barbered, tanned, and drunken man sat down on the opposite seat. He was a member of a delegation of farmers from Mississippi, on his way to see Secretary Wallace. He volunteered, with quite annoying repetition, that he was plain ol' Barney Byrd, jus' an ordinary farmer. "How many acres do you have, Mr. Byrd?" "Thirty-five hundred," said Barney Byrd.

SERVICE

Chattanooga business men wanted to do something about the hordes of guides who offer themselves to the motorist on the Lookout Mountain battlefield. Huge signs were deployed on every highway, fifty miles in every direction from Chattanooga. SEE LOOKOUT MOUNTAIN FROM YOUR OWN CAR. GUIDES NOT NECESSARY. Expert marksmen from the ranks of the disgruntled guides have hurled enough paint to extinguish neatly the word NOT from most signboards.

JAMES DUGAN.

Bigger and Better

A NEW MASSES reader in Arkansas reports the following, overheard in a small town store: "Hoover promised us two cars in every garage but Roosevelt is giving us an airplane in every backyard."

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Socialism Breaks the Cordon Sanitaire

The Baltic states were part of a greater Mannerheim Line that Clemenceau, Lloyd George, and Wilson built against the Soviets. Alter Brody relates some history Sumner Welles forgot.

THE Treaty of Brest Litovsk has gone down in history as the most ruthless "peace" imposed by a conqueror in modern times. By the terms of Brest Litovsk the Soviet republic, which was a free federation of *all* the emancipated peoples of the former Russian empire, was forced to surrender the territories of what later became Poland, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, and Finland and recognize the "independence" of the Ukraine. It meant the loss of more than one-fourth of Soviet territory in Europe (600,000 square miles), one-third (55,000,000) of its total population, and more than three-fourths of its industrial resources. Fifteen years later when Hitler began his campaign against the "injustices of Versailles" (injustices freely admitted by liberals throughout the world), the best that Allied apologists could say in defense of Versailles was to point to the far more crushing Brest Litovsk treaty as an example of the kind of terms that Germany would have imposed on the Allies had she been the victor.

But though Allied apologists and their liberal friends have been quick to remind a Nazi Germany crying about the "injustices of Versailles" of the greater injustices of Brest Litovsk, there is one thing they have conveniently forgotten about Brest Litovsk. It is that the Allies, by the terms of the armistice of Nov. 11, 1918, took over for themselves the crushing mortgage which German militarism secured on the political and economic life of the Soviet peoples. As Article 12 of the Armistice terms ingenuously stipulates, "German troops are to evacuate all territories which were formerly a part of the Russian empire *as soon as the Allies shall consider this desirable, having regard to the interior conditions of those territories.*" (Italics mine—A. B.) In less diplomatic language the German troops were not to evacuate these territories until they were replaced by Allied armies of occupation or the armies of Allied puppet governments that were to be created in that area.

ALLIED BREST LITOVSK

For two bloody years, from 1918 to 1920, the Soviets struggled against the new Brest Litovsk which Allied intervention sought to impose on them. Fearing an ultimate union of the revolutionary Russian and German proletariats, the Allies planned to create a belt of Allied-dominated puppet governments carved largely out of Russian territory, a *cordon sanitaire,* as Clemenceau called it, to keep the Russian and German proletariat apart and make the capitalist world safe against socialism. In the end the Soviets found it necessary to compromise with their Allied foes as they had compromised two years before with their German foes. In a series of Brest Litovsks signed with the Allied puppet states that had been established on Soviet territory, the Soviets surrendered more than 330,000 square miles of their soil and 35,000,000 of their population. (By the Versailles treaty Germany lost only 22,000 square miles of her territory and 6,000,000 of her population.) Thus the Cordon Sanitaire was created, a broad band of territory stretching from Finland to Bessarabia, 1,500 miles long and from two to four hundred miles wide, to keep the plague of socialism out of capitalist Europe.

That this objective and no pretended principle of "self-determination" was behind the creation of the "independent" states of Finland, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, and Poland and the gift of the Ukrainian provinces of Bessarabia and Bukovina to Rumania was cynically avowed at the time by Clemenceau and Lloyd George—the chief architects of both Versailles and the Cordon Sanitaire. As a result not only were all the "emancipated" nationalities of Central Europe converted into satellites of French and British imperialism, but 18,000,000 Russians (Byelo Russians, Ukrainians, and Ruthenians) were "self-determined" into Poles, Rumanians, Czechs, and even Latvians.

But the object of the Cordon Sanitaire was not merely to keep socialism out of western Europe. It was also to strangle it in the territory to which it was confined. In the north the severance of the socialist Finns, Estonians, Latvians, and Lithuanians from their socialist fatherland practically shut off the Soviet peoples from the Baltic, which is as vital to them as the Atlantic seaboard is to the United States. The Soviet thousand-mile frontage on the Baltic was reduced to one hundred miles. Riga, Libau, and Reval (Tallinn), its chief Baltic ports and termini of its most important transcontinental railway systems, were amputated from the commercial and industrial body of the Soviet Union. Leningrad, its only remaining Baltic seaport and former capital, originally six hundred miles from any foreign border, found itself an exposed frontier post within artillery range (twenty miles) of the Finnish border and less than one hundred miles from the Estonian border. On the west its capital, Moscow, formerly one thousand miles from the border, was brought within 450 miles of an enemy. In the south Odessa, the Soviet's chief port on the Black Sea, formerly 250 miles from the border, was, like Leningrad, brought within artillery range (twenty miles) of the Rumanian frontier.

It was thus made abundantly clear that among the various objectives of the Cordon Sanitaire, such as the shutting off of socialism from western Europe, the economic strangling of socialism within its own borders, and the creation of *places d'armes* for a contemplated military assault on socialism, the principle of "self-determination" was hardly a determining factor. History has its own ironic way of commenting upon itself. Today the French imperialists who tried to dismember the world's first socialist confederation on the pretext of "self-determination" are witnessing the dismemberment of their own country by the Nazi champions of "self-determination." There is the possibility that Brittany, Normandy, Burgundy, Provence, and the French Basque provinces may be self-determined into a Cordon Sanitaire around what remains of France after Germany, Italy, and Spain take their share.

TEMPORARY BULWARKS

That the border states established on the western territory of the Soviet Union were merely temporary bulwarks against socialism, to be dismantled as soon as "an orderly, well established [i.e., capitalist] government" could be brought into being in Russia, has been frequently emphasized by our own State Department, which is now so indignant over the reabsorption of the Baltic peoples into the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics. In Wilson's famous Fourteen Points (Jan. 8, 1918) outlining the American idea of a "new order" in Europe neither Finland, Estonia, Latvia, nor Lithuania are mentioned among the new states to be established. Of the future Cordon Sanitaire states only Poland is mentioned, and her boundaries are specifically restricted to "territories inhabited by indisputably Polish populations," excluding, in other words, the Byelo Russian and Ukrainian provinces joined to the Soviet Union last September. In a memorandum which Wilson's secretary of state, Lansing, prepared as a draft of the American peace proposals the following recommendations are made: "The Baltic provinces of Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia shall be autonomous states of a Russian confederation. . . . The Ukraine shall be a state of the Russian confederation to which shall be annexed those portions of the Austro-Hungarian empire in which the Ruthenians predominate"—meaning eastern Galicia, Bukovina, and Ruthenia (formerly Czechoslovakian, now Hungarian). In 1920, when the State Department was considering *de facto* recognition of the Baltic states, E. Young, American commissioner to the Baltic states, declared:

> The leading men here [in the Baltic states] are under no illusion as to the future relation of these states to Russia and realize full well that with an orderly, well established government in Russia, the Baltic provinces will again become part of what will probably be a federated Russia.

There remains now only the southern anchor of the Cordon Sanitaire, the province

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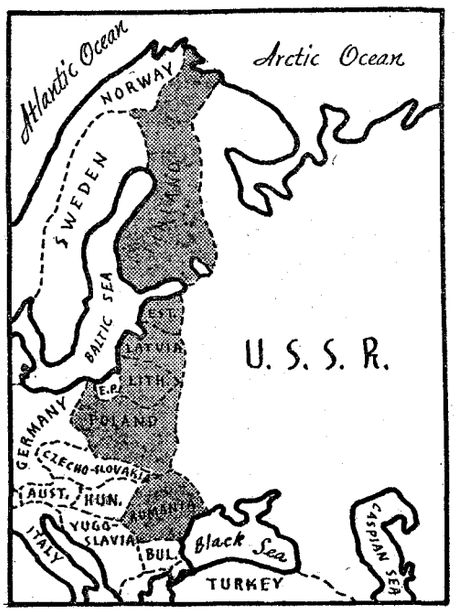
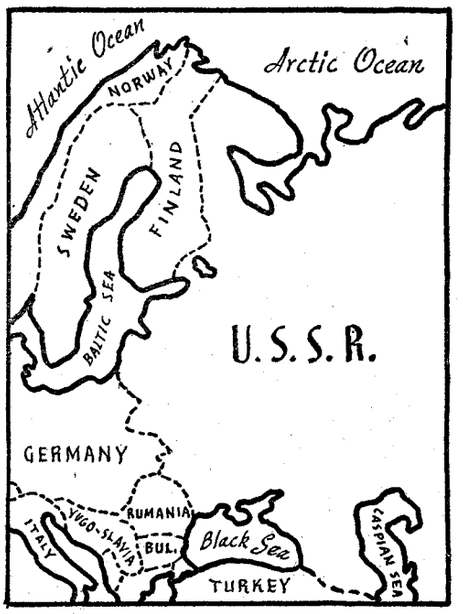
Pre-revolutionary Russia



The Cordon Sanitaire



Socialism Breaks Through

of Bessarabia, to be accounted for, and our State Department has gone on record on that too. It is well known that the Soviet Union never recognized Rumania's seizure of Bessarabia. It is not so well known that our own State Department has never recognized Rumania's annexation of Bessarabia, and the province has consistently appeared on US government maps of Europe as Soviet territory.

It was because the Baltic states were indissolubly linked, geographically, commercially, and industrially, with the old Russian empire that neither British, French, nor American diplomacy could envision their permanent existence apart from a "Russian Confederation." That their arbitrary amputation from the economic body of which they were an organic part for two centuries was a calamity for them is irrefutably registered in their decreased population, particularly that of their cities, and in the retrogression of their commerce, industry, and even agriculture. The Baltic provinces were commercially the most important area of czarist Russia and one of her most important industrial areas. Their importance however was primarily based upon their geographic position within the Russian empire. Their leading cities Riga, Libau, and Reval (Tallinn) were Russia's main seaports on the Baltic. Great transcontinental railroads linking the Baltic with the Black Sea on the south and the Pacific on the east had had their western termini in Riga, Libau, and Reval. These seaports not only became the main outlets for the export of czarist Russia's vast raw material resources to western Europe but developed industries of their own for the manufacture of these raw materials. And the agriculture of the Baltic provinces found a natural market in the fast growing population of their seaports and in nearby St. Petersburg, then the capital of Russia. In those days Riga, with a population of nearly half a million, was one of the largest cities in Russia. Libau and Reval (Tallinn) were also thriving cities with populations of over 100,000. Today Soviet production is ten times that of czarist Russia. Today the Soviet cities that were the contemporaries of Riga, Libau, and Reval have doubled and even quadrupled in population, and entirely new cities have arisen in the Soviet Union that are larger than Riga, Libau, and Tallinn. But Tallinn has about the same population (130,000) and Riga (370,000) and Libau (57,000) have a smaller population than they had twenty-five years ago. Even the total population of Estonia and Latvia has declined during the same period. According to pre-war Russian statistics, the provinces of Courland, Livonia, and Estonia, which constituted only 75 percent of what are now Estonia and Latvia, had a population of 3,000,000, or as large as all of present-day Estonia and Latvia.

The control of the Cordon Sanitaire was divided between Britain and France, with the northern part, Finland, Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania, going to Britain. When "an orderly, well established government" failed to materialize in the Soviet Union despite strenuous interventionist efforts, Britain gave up hope and fitted the Baltic provinces into the fabric of her own economy. She had of course no use for the industries that had been developed in the Baltic cities on a base of Russian raw materials. All she wanted from them was their own limited raw materials (largely flax and lumber) and their dairy products. The Baltic states had to eke out a living competing with Ireland, Holland, and Denmark for the London dairy market.

Despite their anti-Soviet bias, the governments of the Baltic states realized from the very beginning that their economic well-being was tied up with the Soviet Union rather than with Britain and they tried to splice their torn economic ties. Much has been made of the transit facilities which Finland conceded to the Soviet Union by the terms of the Soviet-Finnish peace treaty. Yet in the peace treaties which the Baltic states signed with the Soviet Union in 1920 they all voluntarily and eagerly granted the Soviet Union special free transit facilities on their railroads and through their seaports (known as the Baltic Clause) in the hope of recapturing the pre-revolutionary commerce with Russia which was the basis of their economic existence.

When the peoples of the Baltic states voted by majorities of from 91 to 99 percent in favor of socialism, there was a lot of sarcastic comment in the American capitalist press. Yet the same capitalist commentators saw nothing incredible in the fact that in our last presidential elections more than 45,000,000 out of 45,600,000 voters, or 99 percent, voted in favor of capitalism, i.e., for the capitalist parties. A knowledge of the history of the Baltic states will go far to demonstrate that the Baltic workers and peasants had far more convincing reasons for voting in favor of socialism in 1940 than the American workers and farmers had for voting in favor of capitalism in 1936. The economic considerations which I have enumerated are weighty enough in themselves. But it is not the first time that the Baltic workers and peasants have demonstrated their faith in socialism. The Lettish sharpshooter regiments were among the first to join the November Revolution. They fought so faithfully for the Revolution throughout the Civil War that White Guard propaganda depicted Lenin as ruling Russia with Lettish bayonets. Nor is it surprising that Lithuania, whom Soviet intervention has saved from being destroyed by Poland in 1920, 1923, and in 1938, and by Germany in the winter of 1938-39, should be interested to ensure her national existence forever by becoming one of the free and equal national republics of the mighty Union of Socialist Soviet Republics.

The collapse of the Cordon Sanitaire marks the end of an epoch in the history of socialism and the beginning of another.

ALTER BRODY.

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Strictly Personal by RUTH McKENNEY

Life with Clare Boothe

MARIE ANTOINETTE was no mental giant. Even her hardbitten old mama, a realist of the strictly-from-hunger type, never considered her famous offspring as anything other than history's No. 1 bird brain. "Give a care for those old diamond necklaces and be sure to scrub your teeth every week," old Maria Theresa used to write to little Marie, by pigeon express or something, when Marie was quite a big girl, too.

But there was no talking sense into Marie. "I dunno," the empress used to grouse to her son Joseph, "I dunno. If that Marie doesn't wise up a bit, heaven only knows what'll happen. Anyhow it'll be terrible and probably ruin the whole family's reputation for the next six hundred years."

Marie Antoinette exceeded her mama's wildest forebodings the fatal day she looked over the blood and the suffering of the first uprisings, took a deep breath, and got *cute* about the French Revolution. "Let 'em eat cake," she giggled, and the words thundered down the centuries, messing up the family's reputation just the way the old lady had it figured.

And getting around to the subject of this week's prose poem, dear friends, ladies and gentlemen, I give you Clare Boothe, who will surely, if anybody remembers her twenty years from now (which I very much doubt) go rolling down in history as the only female in the twentieth century who could give Marie Antoinette aces and spades on that quaint little hunk of repartee about the cake. For Miss Boothe, has the temerity, in *Life* (July 29) to get *cute* about the second imperialist war.

Maybe I'm spattering the little Marie with an unwarranted coat of tar, going around comparing her to Clare Boothe. Marie was a dumb cluck all right, and callous right down to her fingernails, but no matter how great her mental handicaps, she was cute but not catty. Stupid, but she never pretended to be a whiz at reading and writing.

Miss Boothe, on the other hand, is not the type to sit home by the fireside with her knitting and her diamond necklaces. She is (to switch rudely into Freud) an extrovert —understatement in the grand manner. In fact, ever since she married Henry Luce, who owns *Time, Life,* and other magazines of a paying nature, Miss Boothe has been, to *Time* and *Life* anyway, a Famous Playwright.

And now she has graduated. As the editor's note in her husband's magazine states, she is the author of "some of the most vivid and authoritative reporting so far produced by World War II." Well, it certainly is vivid, all right, all right. But I hope Mr. Luce raised somebody's salary for that crack about "authoritative." The rates for selling out your own soul ought to come high. Very high, in this particular case.

For Miss Boothe combines the Coy, the Cute approach with just about the fanciest display of plain and complicated ignorance I've seen in the last year. And I've seen plenty, including, just to skim off the cream, Lippmann, D. Thompson, Lewis Corey. To give you a rough idea about the Boothe opus: Mrs. Luce is not content to rest on her laurels as the champ diner-outer in the midst of Peril. She runs through an imposing list of weekend house parties and hotcha cocktail affairs, from which you gather the idea that our Clare moved only in the Best social circles. The gallant officers on the Maginot Line presented Mme. Luce with a bunch of red roses; ambassadors poured out their souls to the great war correspondent; generals, ex-and-present premiers, heads of foreign offices, and suchlike come dime for a dozen in Miss Boothe's diary.

Well, so far so lousy. But now comes disaster. Miss Boothe feels she must get profound. Authoritative. The let-them-eat-cake quip was good enough for the queen of France, but not for our Clare, the demon world-reporter.

Kindly read the following, and pay it close attention, boys—it's the *piece de resistance* of the Madame Luce intellectual approach.

> In my dictionary "politics" is defined as the "science of civil government." "War" is defined as "armed conflict." They are, I realize belatedly, two quite different things, by definition. To be sure, every war, as German General Clausewitz said long ago, has a political objective. But its tactics, its nature, are unpolitical, un-civilian.

This is the Boothe theory. From this nugget of wisdom Mrs. Luce, the authoritative political writer, draws the following conclusions: (1) the French upper classes, politicians and industrialists alike, did not betray France. It was a matter of the generals being no good—discipline and organization stank, you understand. (2) Democracy had better hurry up and turn itself into fascist efficiency, including, by implication of course, conscription of soldiers and labor, or Else.

The only trouble with all this is that Miss Boothe is wrong. Just wrong. General Clausewitz never said any such thing. In fact, he said exactly the opposite. The old boy growled, "War is a *continuation* of politics by other means." The italics are mine, to let the notion sink in. And from this statement of General Clausewitz, Lenin, who, like Miss Boothe, was also an authoritative political writer, drew the conclusion:

> Every war is inseparably connected with the political system which gave rise to it. The politics which a certain country, a certain class in that country pursued for a very long period before the war, are inevitably pursued by that very same class during the war; it merely changes its form of action.

Nobody except Clare Boothe, who of course isn't quite bright, could miss the *Q.E.D.* The French upper classes got their hand in at Munich and Madrid. The pro-Nazi manufacturers kept fascist conspirators on the general staff. When the war broke out, they rushed a goodly hunk of their army to Syria (see *Life* magazine, which did a feature on it) while the Germans hung around Holland and Belgium. The only possible use this Syrian army might have had was not to assault the Nazis, but to attack the Russians. Meantime, on the home front the French government was so busy arresting Communists and busting up unions they had neither the time nor the inclination to pay any mind to that war business which was going on across the French border. Of course Miss Boothe says the "morale" was good in France but she was all the time talking to the wrong people. She should have rubbed shoulders slightly with the soldiers' wives, who were starving, and the factory workers, who were ditto.

When the Hitler push finally came, the French upper classes ordered their troops to retreat, abandoned Paris, simply gave position after position to the Germans, and in the very last complained they had no reserves. And that was quite true. The reserves were in Syria, practicing up for that other war. So Petain made peace, and now Laval and the two hundred families have exactly what they always wanted: fascism in France. They always said if they couldn't get fascism any other way, they'd have to get the Nazis to help them. Which is precisely what they did. Old General Clausewitz and Lenin were perfectly right, of course.

Miss Boothe should take a little more pains with those quotations. For Marie Antoinette didn't know from nothing about the French Revolution. And Mrs. Luce got General Clausewitz *tout au contraire.* Page Mme. La Farge! Break out the knitting needles. The people Clare Boothe didn't get around to dining with in Europe are currently planning a war to end all war correspondents such as Mrs. Luce. And I'll bet la belle Clare won't be able to get *cute* about that. Or authoritative, either.

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NEW MASSES
ESTABLISHED 1911

Editors
A. B. MAGIL, RUTH MCKENNEY, JOSEPH NORTH.

Associate Editors
JAMES DUGAN, BARBARA GILES.

Business Manager CARL BRISTEL.
West Coast Representative GEORGE WILLNER.

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Molotov's Speech

PREMIER MOLOTOV'S address to the Supreme Soviet last week was more economical in range and structure than previous speeches, either the speech of March 29 after the Finnish peace, or that of last October. The occasion was certainly a happy one—ten million human beings of Bessarabia, Bukovina, Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia have rejoined the federation of socialist nations from which they were forcibly severed in 1918-19 by the victors of the last war. But it was not the occasion for more than a restatement of Soviet neutrality. In its reticence lies its significance. At a moment when the war is scheduled to assume bloodier and more violent proportions, when the fabric of the imperialist order is wearing thinner and thinner in the Balkans as well as France, it was only to be expected that the Soviet leaders would indulge in no excess language. Their own actions along their western borders have spoken adequately for them, for both the past and the future.

Molotov's references to Germany were wholly within the spirit of the non-aggression pact. He specifically decried all speculation of clashes between the USSR and Germany, but rejected as well any "attempts to intimidate the USSR by the prospect of the growth of Germany's might." Acknowledging Hitler's "great successes," Molotov nevertheless specifically praised the French people—"deservedly famed as a liberty-loving people with glorious revolutionary traditions," observing that their "regeneration" could not be "realized by old methods."

References to Italy were correct rather than cordial; with Japan the USSR desires normal relations, although Molotov queried "the real political aspirations" of the new Japanese Cabinet. Toward "great national China, fighting for its existence" the USSR continues the support that was symbolized by the renewal of the trade agreement two weeks ago. Molotov found only the merest encouragement, in the appointment of Ambassador Stafford Cripps, for the improvement of relations with Britain; he noted that "nothing good can be said" of American relations, "where certain people are not pleased with the successes of the Soviet policy in the Baltic countries."

Turkey, Iran, and Finland appear to be sore spots. The violation of the Soviet frontier by foreign airplanes flying from Turkey and Iran was considered serious enough for mention. And while the treaty with Finland has been satisfactorily observed (the Aland islands, we learn, have been demilitarized) Molotov warned "certain elements in the Finnish ruling circles" to "cease their persecution of public circles which are striving to strengthen good-neighborly relations between the USSR and Finland," else such relations might "suffer damage." The events of the past week, in which Finnish workers have been beaten for assembling in favor of friendship with the USSR, certainly cast the future of Soviet-Finnish relations into doubt.

The most ominous note in the entire speech was the prediction that the war would continue, that Britain would give Germany battle, relying upon American assistance. Most ominous for ourselves as Americans was the observation that "imperialist appetites are growing, not only in Japan, but in the United States, where there are not a few people who like to conceal their imperialist designs behind the well advertised 'concern' for the entire 'western hemisphere' which these gentlemen are prepared to turn into their property. . . ."

There has been so much advice to the Russians from this country; perhaps now we ought to take some advice from them. Over there stands a great federation of free peoples, 193,000,000 strong, determined to stay out of the war, whose leadership is capable of keeping them out; over here, a handful of men—the big monopolists and their political spokesmen in both parties, who have mismanaged American life for two generations—are furiously trying to get us in. Collaboration with the Soviet Union is what might have spared the French and British people this war and made the war itself improbable. Collaboration between the USSR and the American people, mobilized to stay out of war, is the best guarantee of American security, the surest alternative to the disasters which overtook Europe.

Far Eastern Tangle

THE new rulers of Japan have enlarged their appetites in the Far East: they now speak of a "Greater Order in Asia." Last week Japanese spokesmen disclosed plans for the complete domination of Indo-China; American businessmen complained that Tokyo was preventing them from doing business in the Japanese-controlled areas on the mainland; the terrorization in Shanghai continues and preparations are being made for an assault upon Hongkong. Now that the British have sold out China by closing the Burma road, the Japanese express their thanks by the customary kick in the pants: they have arrested prominent British businessmen in Japan. And the retaliation in London does not impress us: it looks like a play to the grandstand from where we are sitting; the real damage to China has already been done.

Every sign points to a continued and increasingly acrimonious grapple between American and Japanese imperialism for the Dutch East Indies and the Philippines. In essence Japan wants control in the South Pacific on her own terms. The United States, preparing for her aggression in Latin America, is ready to go very far to appease Japan, but insists upon retaining hegemony over the rubber and tin of Holland's islands.

Only against the background of this continuing imperialist struggle can Washington's embargo upon aviation gasoline and the licensing of scrap iron be understood. The first measure cuts off American petroleum supplies, which will force Japan to rely upon Dutch and British supplies, available in the East and West Indies. The licensing of scrap iron is deceptive; *it is not an embargo,* and applies only to first grade scrap, a grade which Japan *has not been buying.* Quite significantly, the Japanese ambassador did not mention scrap at all in his protest to Washington last week against the ban on aviation gasoline.

The fact is that the threat of an embargo has become a diplomatic weapon in a conflict of rival traders. Even a full embargo on all materials which Japan buys here would not necessarily have a progressive significance unless it were accompanied by two other measures: first, large scale and immediate, practical assistance for China's great fight against aggression; second, a demarche from Washington to Moscow for general collaboration in the Pacific. Without both these measures combined, no problems will be solved. On the contrary, problems will continually be created which will only involve us in the danger of a senseless struggle for a redivision of the colonial world, a reactionary struggle.

War Perspective

THE summer is waning fast, and the anticipated assault upon Britain has not yet begun; at least, not in terms of troops swarming across the Channel in thousands of boats and submarines, or of parachute tanks dropping out of the sky, or of big guns blasting the cliffs from Calais. It is true that for the past month a steady aerial bombardment has been going on. The Germans claim an enormous destruction of British shipping and port facilities; the Italian newspapers say that this is itself part of the assault upon Britain and will soon reach the climax. Yet, obviously—the Germans are hesitating. Either the preparations are so exacting that they can risk letting the actual assault delay until autumn; or else they are counting the price of the assault over and over, and find it too high.

We have come to credit the Germans with prodigious military powers; nevertheless, an assault upon a fortified shore, which is really defended, is a difficult job, as Churchill himself learned at Gallipoli. By October weather conditions will be very poor around the British Isles—airplanes cannot fight through fog. On the other hand, a campaign of attrition, a siege, cannot be successful so long as British ships control the high seas, even if the Nazi air force terrorizes the Channel. No, the Germans cannot win a war of attrition: they can only lose the initiative they have held thus far. And delay creates problems of another kind—by midwinter the Nazis will face an entire continent in Europe, scavenging for food, rebellious, untamed.

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After Hitler's last speech it would seem that the Germans have lost a peace offensive: the decisive sections of British capital are not satisfied with German terms. It is altogether possible, therefore, that if the Germans do not strike shortly they will not be able to strike with enough force to bring victory. On the other hand, Britain cannot counterattack by land, certainly not if the Germans fortify the opposing shore. British planes can damage German ports and industrial centers, which they have been doing; they can intensify their blockade of the entire Continent—a stupendous job. At the very best they can hold their own while the military war itself reaches a stalemate—in which the *inner forces of exhaustion* in both camps will take the field. At that stage the *people* of Britain and Germany —rather than the armies, the generals, the machines—the popular morale and consciousness will become decisive.

Speaking of Sabotage

IN SEEKING action against sabotage of the defense program President Roosevelt is carefully looking in the wrong direction. In this he is following the example of his illustrious French colleagues, Daladier and Reynaud. Sabotage is a fact. The *United States News* of August 9 reports:

> Rearmament of this country to stand off the world is bogged down; is showing few actual results after three months; is showing many hitches. . . . Not a single new combat plane is contracted for out of new funds voted by Congress; aircraft plant expansion remains in suspense behind tax barriers; tank orders are few, gun production is low, artillery orders small; expanded armor plate production awaits tax law changes.

An Associated Press dispatch of August 5 reports that a $31,871,349 contract for four-motor army bombers is being held up because the Boeing Aircraft Co. won't expand its plant till Congress authorizes more generous amortization terms in order to reduce the company's taxes.

In other words, big business is engaged in a colossal blackmail of the government and the American people. Not that the Roosevelt administration isn't ready to give the corporations full measure in the way of tax concessions. But it takes time to get the legislation through Congress, and the economic royalists demand cash on the barrelhead or they won't play. The fact is that under cover of enacting an excess profits tax the administration is preparing to repeal the recently passed 7 and 8 percent limitation on profits and to revise the law which bars more than a 10 percent annual chargeoff for amortization of the cost of plant expansion. To quote John L. Lewis' recent letter to CIO executive board members: "Under the urge of a declared emergency, the government is making patriotism profitable for American finance and industry." This at a time when the profits of four hundred leading industrial corporations, after the deduction of taxes and other charges, rose for the first six months of the year 58.6 percent, according to the National City Bank report, US Steel leading the way with an increase of close to 1,800 percent.

On top of this, the administration, at the request of the Stettinius-Knudsen National Defense Advisory Commission, has held up the anti-trust suit against major oil companies. The anti-trust laws are to be enforced chiefly against trade unions, just as conscription is for labor, not for wealth.

Lewis and the UAW

JOHN L. LEWIS' speech to the United Auto Workers convention did rather more than present the case against conscription, against war, unemployment, industrial profiteering, and the use of "Hitler's own methods" to fight "the shadow of Hitler." It did more than link these things with the policies of both Democratic and Republican parties. For Lewis illuminated his facts with a certain historical perspective—"War has always been the answer to the prayers of despairing statesmen"—and his understanding of organized labor's vanguard role in the people's battle. "It is necessary," he told the 550 delegates, "for labor to build up its strength so as to be of help to the common people." And: "Some day . . . the people are going to lose confidence in the existing political parties to a degree they will form their own party." His eloquence brought an "amen" of tumultuous endorsement; delegates shouted at more than one point, "We'll support you on that, John!" No such volume of enthusiasm greeted the speech of Sidney Hillman, CIO member of FDR National Defense Council. Mr. Hillman promised that labor gains would not be sacrificed to "defense"—but suggested that labor should put in longer hours if "national defense needs longer hours."

The UAW was able to report that it now has contracts with 647 plants, covering 412,000 workers. It resolved to establish union-shop contracts throughout the auto industry, with "Organize Ford!" as one of its chief slogans. This second largest union in the CIO went unanimously on record against "any form of compulsory military service at this time." It passed a resolution against "any involvement of the United States in any war on foreign soil," and declared its opposition to labor spying and intolerance toward minorities, to war profiteering, and the bill to deport Harry Bridges. Delegates also voted to work for "extension and full protection of civil liberties" and condemned alien registration.

Out of harmony with these resolutions are the two endorsing a third term for Roosevelt and linking the USSR with Nazi Germany, Japan, and Italy as "aggressors and dictators." The very wording of the anti-conscription declaration, which speaks of "imperialist adventures," is an indirect indictment of FDR (who has endorsed conscription); so is the anti-war resolution. And the factual inaccuracy of identifying the USSR with fascist policies is the very basis of the Red-baiting wedge by which employers and disrupters are attempting to split all unions and other progressive groups. The UAW should know from its experience with Homer Martin Lovestoneites how such Red-baiting can be used against a union.

Roundup

DISCOVERY that American big business men have been conferring on "appeasement" trade tactics with Dr. Gerhard Alois Westrick, German Embassy's commercial counselor, led to crackdown on Dr. Westrick. The counselor's motor license has been revoked. NEW MASSES suggests similar attention be bestowed on big British trade agents now openly received in Washington. . . . Rep. J. Thorkelson of Montana, notorious anti-Semite and Hitler admirer, was defeated in the Republican primaries by Jeanette Rankin, who ran on keep-out-of-war platform. . . . A manifesto from the underground Communist Party of Germany condemns Nazi conquests and invasions of other nations and emphasizes solidarity between German workers and those of France and other Nazi-conquered countries. . . . The New York *Daily Worker,* formerly central organ of Communist Party of United States, has been purchased by the newly formed Freedom of the Press Co., Inc., owned by three women, two of them descendants of fighters in the American Revolution. Continuation of paper's present role as "a medium of free expression in the interests of the working people of America" is assured by new owners. . . . Governor Lehman of New York violated all precedent by establishing in peacetime a state Council of National Defense, corresponding to FDR's national "preparedness" board. No legislative authority has been granted, as in 1917, for appointment of such state councils. . . . A congressional hearing in New York on "Interstate Migration of Destitute Citizens" spotlighted the fact that "Okies and Arkies" come from all regional areas of the US and its possessions and make their painful trek through every state in search of jobs. . . . Maj. Gen. John F. O'Ryan, who headed a committee for military intervention in Finland (for the sake of "democracy") and is now on a Japanese-financed mission in the Far East, stated in a Shanghai newspaper that *China* is to blame for Japan's invasion! . . . WPA Red-hunt has fired 429 workers from rolls. In New York, WPA workers are being fired for picket protest against suspension of eight WPA writers. On another civil liberties front, eleven residents of Westmoreland County, Pa., have been arrested, allegedly for illegally filed Communist campaign petitions. In Illinois four Communist campaign workers held on sedition charges in $80,000 bail, denied habeas corpus. Down in Texas, however, Atty. Gen. Glenn R. Lewis upheld right of Communists to place on ballot, observing that "in times like the present . . . we must be guided not by our emotions, desires, or prejudices but by the words and spirit of the Constitution and laws which it is our solemn duty to uphold. . . ." Lewis warned Texas secretary of state he could be fined $500 for denying Communists the ballot.

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Defending America: II

Lewis Gannett, Shaemas O'Sheel, William Z. Foster, and Rev. Alson J. Smith continue the discussion on American foreign policy and national defense.

NEW MASSES publishes four more comments from well known individuals on the editorial article, "Who Shall Defend America?" published in its July 16 issue. Last week we printed statements from William Carlos Williams, Rockwell Kent, William Pickens, and Bruce Crawford. This week we present Lewis Gannett, Rev. Alson J. Smith, Shaemas O'Sheel, and William Z. Foster. We also invite comments from our readers.

Our editorial article of July 16 criticized the reactionary foreign policy of the Roosevelt administration and proposed a new foreign policy based on four main principles: (1) strict neutrality in the European war; (2) support of democratic, anti-imperialist movements in the Latin American countries and concrete aid in helping them become industrialized and independent in place of the present policy of bullying aggression and collaboration with dictatorial regimes; (3) abandonment of all appeasement efforts in relation to Japan and substitution of an embargo on all trade, plus full economic and political aid to China; (4) collaboration with the Soviet Union in the Far East and in Europe to end aggression and establish a democratic peace. The article also emphasized the necessity of combining this kind of a foreign policy with domestic measures to raise living standards and protect civil liberties.

Rev. Alson J. Smith, executive secretary of the Religious Union for Democracy, an alliance of Christians and Jews, writes that he agrees with us about 85 percent. He distrusts both Roosevelt and Willkie and is against helping Britain until the English people throw out their present government and obtain "complete political control." Reverend Smith contributed the article, *Lafayette, Don't Look for Us,* in the April 9 issue of NEW MASSES.

I find myself about 85 percent in agreement with your foreign policy editorial, and while I do not think things are quite as black-and-white as you seem to think, I do agree with your basic analysis.

Certainly there is no hope for a realistic foreign policy as long as the Roosevelt administration is in office. I learned that through many long hours of waiting in State Department anterooms at the time of the Spanish civil war. There is no indication that the diplomatic doubletalk in which we have carried on our foreign policy in the last few years is to be abandoned now, for the latest hoop-la about "embargoing" oil and scrap iron to aggressors proves to be nothing but a licensing arrangement. It reminds us of the famous "quarantine the aggressor" speech which was followed by a "quarantine," not of any aggressor, but of one of the victims of aggression, loyalist Spain! Roosevelt, Chamberlain, and Daladier followed exactly the same policies and maintained the same basic attitude toward the world situation, and if these latter great champions of "democracy" belong now in the doghouse, then so does Franklin D.

Bringing in the Republicans wouldn't help much, for they are the party of America's forty families, Cliveden set, "Link," or what have you. Willkie would probably have more intestinal fortitude in standing up to minority pressure groups like the Catholic-fascist one that induced Roosevelt to keep the Spanish embargo, but then he could scarcely have less.

With Chamberlain still in the British Cabinet and Sir Samuel Hoare in Madrid I think we may still be pardoned for listening intently for sounds of conversations, deals, plans, formulas, etc., for knocking down "democracy" to the highest bidder. But I have more faith than you in the common people of Britain, and I hope they stop Hitler and in doing it rid themselves of their own appeasers and betrayers.

Once the English people had obtained complete political control, once they had pledged themselves to free India and had included the restoration of the Spanish republic in their war aims, once they had begun to move toward economic democracy, I should be in favor of our helping them with all means short of war against Hitler. But that means once there had been an English revolution, and that time is not yet. And so, as long as her war continues to be a balance-of-power war against a new Napoleon, I shall be against helping her at all.

Lewis Gannett, book editor of the New York *Herald Tribune,* doesn't think much of our ideas. In fact he doesn't like them at all. He thinks we are stupid to suggest that by supplying Japan with its most essential war material the Roosevelt administration is "seeking to appease Japan," but doesn't bother to give his own explanation of this reactionary policy. For some strange reason he feels that to urge our government to support democratic movements in Latin America is to advocate "proletarian imperialism" (a contradiction in terms). Presumably its present policy of supporting reactionary dictatorships is the essence of democracy. Mr. Gannett also has some hard things to say about the Soviet Union which only go to confirm his apt characterization of himself as "bewildered." Yet despite all, he does agree with us, at least in part, on the need for cooperation between the United States and the USSR.

You ask what I think of your outline of a "progressive foreign policy." Not much. I agree with you that "the cornerstone of any defense program must be an economic and political program that will guarantee a real defense of the interests of the majority of the American people," but when I read your "program" it sounds like the trail of a blind caterpillar in some mythical no man's land.

I can understand resentment of British imperialism; I can't understand people who see nothing to choose between Hitler and Churchill. If you can't see a significant difference of direction in the evolution of the British empire and of the German, I lose the last shred of respect for your judgment. (You did, in pre-Munich days, when you were preaching "collective security.") I think you are seeing things at night when you suggest that people —like William Allen White and Dorothy Thompson and Walter Millis—who are convinced that it is to American interest to support England today are mere tools of American capitalism, hoping "by assuring victory to the British and French" to "assure their own dominance over both." I suppose you refer to the export of scrap iron to Japan when you say that "the administration" is "seeking to appease fascist Japan," but if you think that is the administration's motive you are dumber than I had supposed. I think you are pretty silly when you talk of "Wall Street and the Roosevelt administration, with Republican support" forming a united front in foreign policy.

When it comes to the really puzzling and prickly problems of Latin American policy, it seems to me that you are proposing a kind of proletarian imperialism which is merely a reverse twist of Philander Knox's dollar diplomacy and Theodore Roosevelt's Big Stick. When you say that we should "give every assistance to the anti-fascist, anti-imperialist forces from the Rio Grande to the Cape," what do you really mean? That we should take the responsibility of fomenting revolution in more than a dozen Latin dictatorships? Hm!!!

I used to feel, as you apparently do today, that the USSR's foreign policy was "firmly rooted in neutrality and the avoidance of war." I used to say that you could count on four powers—Russia, England, France, and the USA—being for peace, because all four had all the territory they wanted. The Russo-German pact was a shock to me, as I believe it was to you. The Finnish war, with the hypocritical nonsense about the Kuusinen government, was another shock. The annexations that have followed have not cheered me up. I recognize that those missteps have been grossly misinterpreted and exploited against Russia—but it seems to me that Russia made the initial missteps that opened the way for that exploitation. I still believe that Russia and America have common interests in foreign policy, and should explore channels of cooperation—but the fault for the widening gulf does not all lie on this side of the ocean; and I think that NEW MASSES would be more effective if it frankly recognized such uncomfortable facts.

I confess myself bewildered by this rapidly changing world. In that bewilderment, which forces me to reconsider virtually all that had seemed axiomatic in foreign policy, your formulas seem to me dishearteningly unrealistic.

William Z. Foster, national chairman of the Communist Party, confines his comment to the problem of Latin America. He analyzes the real character of American policy below the Rio Grande and makes proposals which agree substantially with our own.

The development of the present war obviously has put the Latin American countries in a difficult position. They are a rich prize, upon which all the big imperialist powers have their greedy eyes glued. The greatest menace to their national inde-

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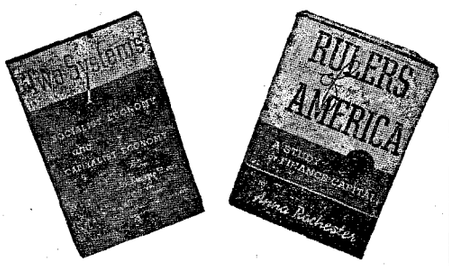

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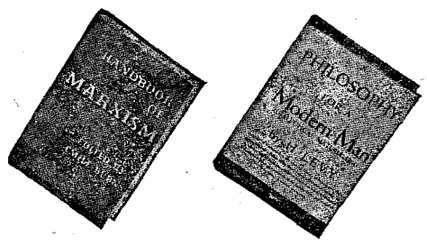

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pendence and general welfare comes from the United States and Germany (although England is still a strong factor). These two powerful imperialist states covet the rich markets and raw materials of the countries of Central and South America and they are moving aggressively to seize them. Although the Nazi menace is real and sinister, the sharpest danger at the moment comes from American imperialism. While its chief rivals in Latin America—Germany and England—are busily slaughtering each other in Europe, the United States is overlooking no opportunity to strengthen its lines in the countries south of the Rio Grande. The economic cartel, the security belt around the continent, the joint control of "subversive" activities, the inter-American bank, and the joint holding of ex-colonies of European powers, are related phases of its great imperialist project, which envisages nothing short of American domination—economic, political, military—of the entire western hemisphere. At the Havana conference American imperialism made considerable progress toward accomplishing its objectives.

To offset the American and German threats to their national independence, the peoples of Latin America face two urgent necessities. The first of these is the fundamental need to democratize their governments. At present, with the exception of Chile, Mexico, and Cuba, the governments of the Latin American countries are controlled by reactionaries of various stripes, verging into outright fascists. Such political leaders are ready tools at hand for the Nazi and Yankee imperialists. They sell out their peoples to the highest bidders. Under no circumstances can they be depended upon to shield the national independence of their countries, not to speak of less fundamental interests of their peoples. Only when the workers, farmers, professionals, and other democratic elements unite powerfully enough to take over their respective governments will the groundwork be laid for a successful defense of the Latin American peoples against the greatly intensified drives of their imperialist enemies to subjugate them.

The second basic defensive need of the Latin American peoples, inseparably bound up with the question of democracy, is that they act in unison when fending off the attacks of the imperialist powers who are so eager to prey upon them. The formation of the Latin American Confederation of Workers is a long step in this direction. It is obvious that the relatively weak Latin American countries, operating singly, are no match for powerful German and American imperialism. Disunited, they would have to accept virtually whatever terms these strong and ruthless powers decided to enforce upon them. On the other hand, democratized and acting as a bloc, the Latin American states would constitute a force powerful enough to defend itself economically or militarily against all comers. The Latin American people, united, can be a great progressive force in world affairs.

The democratization of their governments and the establishment of a working unity among them, therefore, are fundamental conditions for maintaining the national independence and well-being of the Latin American countries. Unless they accomplish these ends they are headed toward a colonial status. Therefore, all their domestic and foreign economic, political, and military programs should be worked out on the democratic-unity basis. The national liberation movement in Latin America should embody all the democratic forces in each country and all the peoples of Central and South America.

It is significant that both American and German imperialism, in pursuance of their aggressive plans, cultivate reactionary regimes in the various countries of Central and South America. They both also try to prevent any real unity among these peoples by their policy of dealing with them, so far as possible, one at a time on the vital issues of trade, loans, military questions, etc.

An American policy in Latin America, conceived in the interests of the peoples of this country and of the nations to the south of us, would break sharply with the foregoing reactionary practices. Such a policy would be based upon cultivating the democracy and unity of the Latin American peoples as a fundamental necessity for the advance of democracy in the United States, as well as for the freedom and prosperity of Latin America. To the end of developing this policy, the trade unions and other progressive and democratic forces of this country should work in close cooperation with the democratic movements of Latin America.

Our old friend, Shaemas O'Sheel, poet, critic, fighter for Irish freedom, and recently American Labor Party candidate for sheriff of Dutchess County, N. Y., pours out his Irish eloquence on some of the problems raised in our article.

Random thoughts on your editorial article "Who Shall Defend America?"

Lincoln once said to Grant, substantially, "Powerful people are trying to get me to remove you from command of our armies because they perceive that you are going to bring the war to a close." In 1916 General Nivelle, commanding the French armies, was about to break through the German front in the Champagne; a parliamentary commission hurried to the front, threw a fit over Nivelle's losses, removed him and replaced him by Petain, who could be relied on not to bring the war prematurely to a close. Once you get a war started, the chief object is to keep it going, so as to sell more munitions and assorted weapons, and so as to increase the national debt, the Rock of Ages of the banks and the rentiers. But in the present war, in the present crisis of capitalism, there is another imperative consideration: to get as many men killed as possible. The chief parties to the present war had, say, seven million men mobilized, in barracks. Afraid as the various governments were to fight, for fear of popular revolution, they were still more afraid to demobilize. Seven million soldiers, producing nothing but consuming three meals a day, clothes, shoes, and so forth, helped nicely to stave off the capitalist crisis: but tell those seven millions to take off their uniforms and go back home and go to work, and revolution would have swept every country of western Europe in a fortnight—because there isn't any work for the seven million. So the ruling class chose war as the less hazardous way out. Not nearly enough men have as yet been killed to stabilize the situation, that's why Churchill is laboring mightily to keep it going, with a helping hand every day from Roosevelt.

Someone sends me the official German propaganda sheet, *Facts in Review*, published by the German Library of Information at 17 Battery Place. I read how terribly the Poles have treated the Germans, and how faithless British diplomacy is, and how happy all Germans are in the blessings Der Fuehrer brings, and I weep for Naziland. That's once a week. Thirteen times a week, in morning, evening, and Sunday papers, I read how false and cruel the Nazis are and how nobly the British ruling class is defending democracy, and I weep out of the other eye. Then I wipe both eyes, read the *Daily Worker* and New Masses, and agree that victory for either gang would be n. g.

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for the people, and that America's place is strictly *out* of this war. Not to stay out, but to *get* out, for Mr. Roosevelt has of course put us in. Several US senators said to me lately that Hitler has saved us from the danger of sending American boys abroad by leaving us no place to send them. But when England, the sacred Motherland, is invaded, there'll be a frenzied demand by the financial allies and intellectual colonists of Britain to save her. And King George may set up in Ottawa, and there will be terrific pressure to salvage the brave empire which goes on fighting even after its head is cut off.

When Weygand failed to attack along the Somme, it was obvious that the French fifth column was betraying France. Poor France was governed by a gang of whom some were in Hitler's pay and some in England's; the first faction held the cards. The most powerful inner circles of international capitalism by this time had decided that the Nazi machine was just what the doctor ordered to put the insolent peoples of Europe back into the serfdom from which they began to emerge about 1789. So France's throat was cut and the English jackal made a fine exhibition of rage over being balked at feeding on the choice parts of the corpse. But obviously the British government is largely in the hands of men eager to let Hitler bring Nazism to the Tight Little Isle. First, however, better let a few hundred thousand unemployables get killed off. It would still be nice to get America in. Maybe a "slaughter of the innocents" would do it. So Churchill stops the evacuation of British kiddies. No shipping space available to save them—but Lady Astor shipped a dozen horses in the SS *American Farmer,* according to CBS reporter Edmond Taylor, quoted in the "Listening In" column of the New York *Post,* July 18. Slaughtered horses wouldn't make Americans clench their fists and say, "We must get into this and stop the Nazis." But slaughtered children might.

We Irish Americans have always been for strong national defense. But when, after spending seven billions on defense in seven years FDR asks for fourteen billions more on the assurance that he hasn't a warlike thought in his mind, it strikes us as odd.

People of any shade of politics, conservatives like me, can well be grateful to the Communist Party for its pioneering analysis of the plans now being speeded up for a great American imperialist adventure. The case has been demonstrated. There is no doubt this is what's in the wind. The long range fight before us is to keep this country, long the exemplar of liberty to all peoples, from becoming, full scale, a competitor of Britain, Germany, and Japan in the enslavement and exploitation of the peoples. During the course of which, inevitably, we'd have to join with these other empires in the effort to crush socialism out of the world by crushing the Soviet Union. Take my word, if Hitler eats his spinach and lives a few years longer, the British and (if they can put it over) the American governments will be his devoted buddies in that great adventure. Why, the Axis has its partners in seats of power at Washington today! Mr. Knudsen, Hitler lover, whose General Motors still has a subsidiary doing business in Germany; Mr. Forrestal of Dillon, Read & Co., big backers who helped fasten dollar imperialism on the countries below the Rio Grande. It can't happen here? Why, brother, it is happening. The Smith and Voorhis bills, the Thurman Arnold campaign against labor, Dies and J. Edgar Hoover, "bombs bursting in air"—these are all parts of the swift fascisization of this republic, now going on. Only *resistance all along the line* can save this republic!

Books

The Bridges Case

HARRY BRIDGES ON TRIAL, *by Estolv E. Ward. Modern Age. 50 cents.*

THE conspiracy to deport Harry Bridges for alleged intent to overthrow the United States by "force and violence" is one of the most persistent in contemporary labor history. The conspiracy has had three dramatic stages: the calumny called testimony before the Dies committee; the deportation trial before Dean James M. Landis, special trial examiner of the Bureau of Naturalization and Immigration; and the passage of HR 9766 directing the attorney general to deport Harry Bridges.

For his subject Estolv E. Ward has chosen the second of these phases, the deportation trial of Bridges. His range of analysis is not limited to concentrating upon this incident alone. A discrediting beam is cast also upon those witnesses who appeared in the first phase, and the development of the third is clearly presaged.

DRAMATIC STORY

Ward's book is the most fascinating story of a labor trial that this reviewer has read. In dramatic interest it overshadows even the more technical and brilliant brochure of Felix Frankfurter on the Sacco-Vanzetti case. It is a thrilling detective story with social overtones. After a swift background account of the West Coast employer drive against Bridges since the 1934 general strike, Ward painstakingly presents the trial itself. From the testimony of hostile witnesses is reconstructed the conspiracy contrived by Harper L. Knowles, ex-secretary of the Associated Farmers and chairman of the California American Legion's Radical Research Committee; Stanley M. Doyle, special subversive activities agent of Oregon's Governor Martin; and Capt. John J. Keegan, chief of detectives of Portland. Ward relates the testimony of each witness under direct and cross examination, the argument of counsel, and the rulings of Dean Landis. Sometimes he summarizes; more often he offers the actual testimony. Interspersed throughout are his own comments on the demeanor of each participant, the spectators' reaction to the witnesses' statements. There is Maj. Lawrence Milner, self-professed Communist chauffeur and undercover operative of the Military Department of Oregon, cornered by his admitted perjury, virtually begging for mercy; Captain Keegan, star Dies committee witness, proven a paid agent of reactionary labor leaders; Stanley Doyle, eluding subpoenas, issuing brave press releases and refusing to testify in support of his charges against Bridges unless he were paid $50 a day.

Then Mr. Ward moves from that atmosphere of perjury into the docks, union offices, employers' clubs, newspaper plants, to show the daily effect of the testimony upon the listening world. It is an interesting study in methodology to compare this book with Dean Landis' report to the secretary of labor exculpating Bridges and exposing the conspirators. For the trial examiner's report, which deserves study by every reader of the Ward book, is too carefully written, too coldly, though devastatingly, analytical to appeal to the lay reader to the extent achieved by the popular educational instrument which Ward has fashioned in *Harry Bridges on Trial.*

This is an exciting, an important book. It merits and will have a wide circulation. For the Bridges case has not been ended by Dean Landis' report and Secretary of Labor Perkins' subsequent cancellation of the warrant of arrest. We have now entered the third phase. On June 13 last the House of Representatives passed HR 9766 which provides:

> That notwithstanding any other provision of law, the attorney general be, and is hereby authorized and directed to take into custody forthwith and deport forthwith to Australia, the country of which he is a citizen or subject, the alien, Harry Renton Bridges, whose presence in this country the Congress deems hurtful.

Representatives Case, Starnes, and Keefe, respectively, described this bill of attainder as "a shocking thing," an "unusual procedure," with only "a fair chance that the Court will hold this legislation to be constitutional"; all three nevertheless supported the bill. Other congressmen, however, were specific on the proposed disposition of the labor leader. Mr. Gross wanted him "shot on American soil as a warning to his kind." Mr. Schafer suggested hopefully that the British government "can use him to good advantage in the fighting line." Mr. Johnson of Oklahoma screamed that "he needs to rot."

The opposition to this legislative lynching lost no dignity in equal frankness. Representative Havenner remarked that "whether the members of Congress realized it at the time or not, if Harry Bridges is deported by this action it will be because he has been a militant leader of labor." Representative Sabath viewed the fight as "one angle of the eternal effort of great and powerful employers to discredit organized labor—as that and nothing more." The bill passed, 330 to forty-two.

TRADE UNIONISM

I have quoted these remarks at some length for they show as plainly as does Ward that the sole issue in the Bridges case from beginning to end is trade unionism, honest and militant. They render imperative the widest distribution of this book among trade unionists and progressives everywhere if another major blow is not to be delivered to American labor. If Bridges is deported, other "troublemakers" will be disposed of, and those whose birth in this country bars deportation may be subjected to the alternative remedies proposed by Congressman Gross and his more virulent colleagues.

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Two Biographies

FELIX GRUNDY, *by Joseph H. Parks. Louisiana State University Press. $3.*
SIMON BOLIVAR BUCKNER, *by Arndt M. Stickles. University of North Carolina Press. $3.50.*

THESE biographies are, in some ways, interrelated. The subjects of both were prominent figures in the border states of Kentucky and Tennessee. Their careers, moreover, are complementary, for Grundy's ends in 1840, a date which marks the beginning of Buckner's fifty years of leadership.

The two books fill a long-felt need in the field of American biography and they may be considered as definitive treatments, well documented, thorough, and accurate. Parks' work is valuable for the insight it throws on the Jacksonian period of American history. It is especially good in describing the sinuosities of local and national politics.

Professor Stickles' book is also rich in political history, particularly of Kentucky just before, during, and for some thirty years after the Civil War. Because Buckner was a Confederate brigadier general a considerable portion of the biography is devoted to military history. In the course of this, two very important, but hitherto undeveloped, fields for investigation are touched upon: the effective and widespread opposition of many Southern whites to the Confederacy and to its cornerstone, Negro slavery; and the existence of treason behind the Union lines. This last subject is begging for careful study, something which its seriousness certainly merits, and toward which this work makes a distinct contribution.

HERBERT APTHEKER.

Science for the People

ADVENTURES OF A BIOLOGIST, *by J. B. S. Haldane. Harper. $2.75.*

THERE are twenty-seven essays in this highly readable volume. Some of them were written seven years ago. They are more formal than the brilliant thousand-word pieces contained in another volume by Haldane published this year, *Science and Everyday Life* (much of the contents of which appeared in the *Sunday Worker* here and in the *Daily Worker* of London).

Though more formal they are not any less readable. Haldane, as is well known, believes that the world needs more science, not less, "and science applied not only to certain branches of production, destruction, and medicine, but to human life as a whole." He dedicates this book to "readers who know enough history to realize that history is a record of pretty nasty facts, and that in spite of this, human culture, including science, has advanced and will continue to advance." This dedicatory note, incidentally, was written by Haldane "in London, waiting to be bombed, but refusing to believe that even if western Europe is seriously damaged, this will spell the end of civilization, or prove the danger of scientific knowledge."

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In these essays, as in the short pieces mentioned above, Haldane's primary purpose is to make scientific knowledge accessible to the general public. In this he is extending a tradition to which the greater British scientists have always subscribed. Haldane's equipment for this purpose is the equal of Huxley's, but Haldane is better able to relate science to society than were Tyndall and Huxley, for they were little inclined to believe that the then rising capitalism might not be benign perpetually. It is noteworthy that those essays in the present volume written after Haldane became more deeply and personally familiar with dialectical materialism are superior, in both vigor and lucidity, to those written before he had fortified a native sense of social and economic forces by a reading of Marxist literature.

"UNSOLVED PROBLEMS"

These essays deal with such "unsolved problems of science" as the weather, the interior of the earth and of the sun, what life is (a "process of continual change") and death ("the end of a particular pattern of material and mental happenings" and "not the end of life but only of *my* life"). Also with fine expositions of contemporary knowledge about protoplasm and body temperature and their miracles. In some of the older papers there are genetical allusions which Haldane would probably present differently now. And an excellent chapter on dialectical materialism, as well as one on "Why I Am a Materialist."

To read this volume is to be in the presence of a wise and honest man. How few such opportunities come one's way!

HENRY HART.

Sights & Sounds

French Film

Psychological murder, starring Jean Gabin of "Grand Illusion."

DAYBREAK *("Le jour se leve")* is likely to remain at the Little Carnegie Playhouse for some time, and you will have to see it sooner or later. The last picture to be made in France before Hitler took over, it witnesses the latest (and perhaps the last) characterization by a superb actor, Jean Gabin, whose performance in *Grand Illusion* is not likely to be forgotten. Gabin, according to reports, is in the French Army.

Here again is the sort of drama of human psychology that the French present so well. This is a triangle, or rather a quadrangle, with a new twist, and its evocation of how a kindly, sympathetic, hardworking man may, contrary to all his latent impulses, be driven to commit a murder is nothing short of superb. The film, despite its modern technique of flashbacks inserted in the continuity of a few hours' narra-

BETRAYED BY THE WEATHER MAN

A LETTER FROM THE EDITORS

Dear Friends:

The heat wave deserted us at the critical moment and a miniature gale churned the waters of the Lido Pool last Friday. Out of consideration for the comfort of our friends, we decided to postpone SWINGSWIM for a week, on the assurance from the weather man that it will be an ideal evening. SWINGSWIM will POSITIVELY take place on Friday, August 9th.

We look forward to seeing you there.

Cordially yours,
The Editors

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tive, retains at all times the immediacy and the impact of a newsreel. And the understanding of human motivation is not the only factor used by the director, Marcel Carne, to achieve this result. Shrewdly naturalistic lighting, casting which is little short of uncanny in its use of human types, stage business, and the adaptation of sound and sight values all combine to put the spectator upon the very scene of the murder Gabin commits for a love that always convinces the audience of its depth and its compulsion.

It would be distinctly unfair to you to reveal the plot details, the neat analysis of human emotion that the film presents. For the enormous impact of this film requires that you go to it unaware of its "fable," and see it from the start. Do not come in halfway through. Most Hollywood products make no such demand upon their audiences, but *Daybreak* is a work of art that depends for its effect upon the continuity of its action.

DANGEROUS WORK

Enough for the moment to tell you that Gabin is a worker in a machine-parts factory, where he operates a sand-blasting gun. It is hard and dangerous work, the job of a man whose face reveals a life of toil and loneliness. To him enters, quite by accident, Jacqueline Laurent, maidservant. She is a new face on the French screen, who, if she survives the present holocaust, will contribute effective work to the cinema. Important also to the action are Arletty, an accomplished performer, and Jules Berry, who makes of his role of a dog trainer a touchstone for other actors. Lover of Arletty, he is a twisted man whose intrusion into the love between Gabin and Laurent supplies the tragic motivation of the film.

The inevitable works itself out distinctly in terms of human character and aspiration; the little things that move people to seemingly irrelevant action are present in all their very relevant content. Despite the indifference of the daily film critics to what they choose to call "gloominess" and "sodden emotionalism," this film represents a firm grasp of human character and a brilliant use of the camera as a medium of art.

Note: The Little Carnegie has since been picketed by the AFL Sign Painters Union. If it still is when you get there, wait till *Daybreak* shows elsewhere.

ALVAH BESSIE.

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SWINGSWIM
SEE PAGE 21
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their departure for a tour of South America.

For sheer tonal sonorities and orchestral colors you will have to search far and wide to hear anything that rivals this group. Two numbers from the impressionist school, Albinez' *Fiesta in Sevilla* and Debussy's *Night in Granada,* were delivered with all the necessary subtlety and restraint. The audience, hypnotized by the performance, called for a repeat of the Debussy work. Even the hackneyed Tschaikovsky Fifth Symphony was an exciting experience. The outline of the thematic structure was drawn with such unmistakable clarity that the most untrained ear could follow its progress. Stokowski was able to make the opening clarinet theme and the French horn solo in the *andante cantabile* sound rich and glowing, the brass sections in the *finale* thrilling in an almost physical sense. Although occasionally, by spasmodic pacing and sentimental tempi, he distorted the melodic and rhythmic outline, you will seldom hear this symphony played with such rhythmic precision or such smooth phrasing. As a conductor and teacher, no praise is too high for Stokowski.

TECHNICAL FACILITY

But it takes two to make a bargain, and in this case the obvious technical facility of the young musicians was wonderful to behold. Hampered by none of the staidness often found in the performances of veteran musicians, these young people were not afraid to let their emotions soar. Their approach, to say the least, was stirring.

Stokowski himself is an extraordinary person. Believing that music has a future as well as a past, he has always given the new composer many opportunities. His interest in new technical developments, together with his encouragement of important creative trends, is worthy of high commendation. As a pioneer in bringing good music to a wide public via screen, radio, and phonograph, he has been exceptionally successful. Of his remarkable achievement in training this fine group of young musicians, a partial explanation is to be found in his own notes:

A generation is arising that is amazingly rich in musical talent. It is entirely possible that the younger American generation is talented in other directions as well as music. . . . If this is so, the American youth orchestra might become an indication of what can be done in other directions besides music. Our youth will form the future of this country, and if this youth has imagination and initiative, and develops its creative faculties, these qualities will make a glorious future for this country. But to do this it is essential that we give youth one thing—opportunity.

To which we can only add an enthusiastic Amen. But if Stokowski relies on the representatives of the present administration, one of whom spoke at the concert, he will be disappointed. For this administration is now preparing to ask these gifted artists to shoulder guns instead of violins.

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Effective September 16, 1940, the subscription rate to NEW MASSES *is being increased as follows:*

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Our readers will appreciate that this increase is made necessary by the effects of the war on publishing conditions. Paper prices, for one thing, have shot up steeply. For ten months NEW MASSES *has absorbed such operating expenses and still tried to keep within its budget for the year—a budget which our readers helped us sustain by their splendid response to our annual financial campaign last winter and spring. But we cannot do so any longer, without stretching to an impossible point the meager margins on which we work.*

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